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## Near East/South Asia Report

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28 March 1984

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PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENTS FOR ARAB AGRICULTURAL SECTORS SOUGHT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 360, 14 Jan 84 pp 49-50

[Article: "Arab Farmlands Provide Food Security, While Cities Provide Political Security; Private Sector's Conditions for Participating in Arab Food Security Projects: Investment Climate, Common Market and Joint Projects"]

[Text] The establishment last month of the Arab Company for Agricultural Investment was an event in itself. The Arab private sectors, which established the company, have until recently refused to invest in agricultural sectors because of the non-commercial risks surrounding these sectors. Certain political groups consider any large agricultural investment in Arab countries to be the exclusive domain of agriculture. In addition, most Arab countries, either directly or indirectly, set prices for agricultural products that leave so slight a profit margin for the farmer that it is insufficient for his needs.

These restrictions are the primary reason that inhabitants of rural areas have migrated to the cities seeking a life in the city that is easier and more profitable. They are also the main reason that private capital has shied away from the agricultural sector. Agricultural regulations and land reform do not encourage large agricultural holdings, but try to break them up, which usually results in small, unprofitable farms.

These topics were raised during the meeting of the working group on food sufficiency projects held last November in Kuwait under the auspices of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. The meeting included representatives of concerned Arab organizations and bodies.

The conferees discussed the possibility of channeling greater investment into various agricultural sectors and ways of eliminating these restrictions and obstacles.

One noteworthy address delivered at the meeting was that of Mr Ridwan Tarmanini of the Arab Company for Public Investments, the joint-stock company founded by the Arab chambers of commerce and industry as part of a major effort to expand private sector participation in joint Arab projects.

Mr Tarmanini dealt with two topics in his address: the role of the joint private sector and its role in agricultural investment; and joint projects and their role in food sufficiency. On the first topic Mr Tarmanini says: "Even though the Arab private sector has always led in agricultural operations, the joint private sector experiment, and by this I mean that of private Arab countries in agricultural investment in general, cannot be considered complete nor successful.

The best indication of this is to compare the small number of Arab private companies concerned with agricultural investment with the number of governmental companies and institutions operating in this field. Even though the private sector believes that it is important to develop the agricultural sector, food security and a strong link between the roles of the private and public sectors in long-term development, we must bring out two matters that may help explain why the joint private sector has hesitated to get involved in agricultural investment:

"The appearance of joint Arab private investment, whether local or regional, was the result of an awareness on the part of the private sector of the important, effective role the institutional investor could play in bringing together individual funds and channeling them toward profitable investment opportunities. No matter what changes occur in the nature of this joint private investment nor how long-range it is, it remains very sensitive to fluctuations in profitability and to elements of risk linked with any decision made. The tendency to compare alternatives also remains strong, motivated by personal gain, whether investment be linked to agricultural projects or others. Therefore, an appeal for the private sector to participate in agricultural investment must take this natural tendency into consideration.

"It is very difficult for us to expect the joint private sector to undertake any investment--of whatever nature, agricultural or non-agricultural--that would be less profitable or more risky than the alternative, without seeing reasonable material compensation.

"The only way to attract the joint private sector to agricultural investment and participation in achieving food sufficiency is to provide the appropriate investment climate throughout the Arab world as a whole, with a viewpoint that is comprehensive, not merely local. Despite exceptions in certain Arab countries, the laws, as seen in agricultural investment legislation in the Arab world in general, do not afford a suitable framework or the atmosphere necessary to encourage the joint private sector to enter this sphere."

Regarding joint projects, Mr Tarmanini said, "The requirements of food security depend mainly on our sources of food not being dependent on others and on finding alternate, stable, coordinated sources of food. This means integrating the various operations of food production.

"Most strategies for food sufficiency in the Arab world, even joint Arab projects, have concentrated in their various reports and studies and their



numerous meetings and seminars, on broad strategies for agricultural development. At one conference on Arab food sufficiency, for example, the conferees held more than 30 discussions over a period of 7 days on various topics and their relation to food security; however, none of these discussions, nor others, dealt with the strategic importance of producing the basic elements of agricultural foods and their role in the major type of integration in food production--seed crops, for example.

"I would like to point out, with the help of a brief study by the Arab Company for Public Investments, the specific importance of producing seed crops, which can only be done through the joint Arab effort toward food security for the following reasons:

"1. Even though most statistics for the Arab countries give the numerical importance of agricultural commodities only, and the value of imported seeds is not given among these figures since it is only \$50 million annually, the strategic importance of such imports should not be underrated. The production of seed crops is the first link in food production since they are the raw material of food cultivation. Furthermore, as has been proven in more than one location, the types of seeds imported are not necessarily those that are improved and suitable for every type of soil and climate in the Arab countries.

"2. In setting up an integrated seed production project, we face technical problems, particularly regarding vegetable seeds, in every country. These problems are due to the different soil, climate and atmosphere requirements of each type of seed. In addition, no Arab country is able to produce its own minimum food requirements because of climate, geographical and other factors--it is impossible for it to also produce seed crops locally. Even the large international companies which export diverse types of seeds do not produce all of them, but buy from each other if a customer wants more than one type of seed. This fact of seed production projects mandates integrated, joint projects, not only among investors, but also among different geographical entities.

"3. Producing seeds in the Arab world, improving this production to suit the nature of Arab agricultural land and linking it to laboratory activity and ongoing applied research at various scattered centers are an integrated operation to import and adapt technology relying on what is known in scientific circles as "gene engineering."

In other words, developing the technology on Arab soil to produce suitable seeds. The importance of this lies in the fact that it adds a significant, necessary technological indicator of achievement of food sufficiency in the Arab world to the operation of developing food production.

"The attention given by joint projects solely to quantitative agricultural development (increasing the area of cultivated land, extending water systems, developing storage for foodstuffs, etc.) without any attention paid to qualitative factors that enter into integrating food production operations (seeds are one of numerous examples) is a shortsighted strategy.

"The strong link between this strategic material--of which the Arab world imports more than 80 percent from western countries, primarily and most importantly the United States--and the requirements of food sufficiency in the Arab world must be taken into consideration."

This address represented totally the viewpoint of the private sector, which seeks first of all complete freedom of investment in the field of agriculture, then the opening up of the borders of Arab countries to each other in something of an Arab agricultural market and finally integrated, joint projects. Will the experiment of the Arab Company for Agricultural Investment succeed?

9882

CSO: 4404/297



UGTT PRESIDENT DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT, LABOR ISSUES

Tunis LE MAGHREB in French No 89, 11 Feb 84 pp 6-11

[Interview with Tunisian General Federation of Labor president Habib Achour, by Rachid Khechana and Rafrafi Ben Aissa; date and place not given]

[Text] With the announcement of strikes for this week and the coming weeks, the social climate is filled with tension. The reasons for that tension are many. They are political. They are also social, seeking a response to demands. We therefore deemed it useful to devote our cover to Habib Achour, president of the UGTT. Who could be better qualified to speak of the social situation that prevails in the country, of the UGTT's relations with the government?

[Question] Several strikes have been announced for this week. Notices of strikes for the coming weeks have also been filed. You have just been in a meeting with the government. What is the situation at present?

[Answer] The STEG [Tunisian Gas and Electric Company] strike was suspended following a meeting with the prime minister's office, which lasted several hours. The discussion was very heated. Government officials presented their position regarding the STEG problem as posed by workers. Not until very late in the day was an agreement reached to suspend the strikes. Naturally, we cannot say for our part that it is a victory and that our demands have all been met. But I believe that the workers will be satisfied following the meeting of company representatives, on the one hand, and the union, on the other.

Regarding the planned strikes, there are naturally several unions that have made demands, especially in the area of education, demands that have gone on for a very long time. Requests for meetings have been made and answered late. But, following these meetings, no concrete results were forthcoming. Tired of waiting for positive results, our comrades finally decided to resort to strikes. I believe that the workers' demands are not excessive and that the government would gain by having a serious discussion with them, devoting enough time to achieve concrete results.

Postponing meetings or agreeing to hold them in a month upsets the workers more and annoys them. Discussions can no longer be held in a calm atmosphere.

[Question] Will the elementary education strike take place?

[Answer] I can tell you that I do not know what results they have achieved, but I believe they are ready to have a strike if they have no positive results.

[Question] Problems linked to the compensation fund are not resolved. We should like to know the specific proposals of the UGTT.

[Answer] We did not participate in the decisions made by the government concerning the compensation fund. But we knew that in the government, the ministers involved had been meeting for several months to arrive at the results we have seen. I can say that the UGTT was informed only that the decisions had already been made. It was not consulted. I was naturally the first to be informed and I immediately responded that this modification in the compensation fund reduces the purchasing power of the workers, which we cannot accept. In very clear terms, this means that we demand reparations. Since that time, we have received documents from the government that were used to draw up this proposal to do away with the compensation fund. Discussions with the government began. Every time, the results were very minimal because we asked for reparations on the order of 70 million dinars, while the government proposed to distribute 10 million. This means that the workers would lose over 60,000 dinars of their purchasing power. Since the problem is very complex and since we knew the effect which the elimination of the compensation fund would have on the workers and the people, we wanted to call together the administrative committee, upper-level personnel from Tunis and Tunis federations in order to have their opinions on the matter. The date of enforcement of the government's decision was approaching and it was only after the meeting of the administrative committee and the Tunis officials that we went to see the government to say that workers were demanding complete reparation for the harm done by elimination of the bread and grain by-products subsidies. The government found our position excessive, but after consulting with the prime minister, the ministers with whom we met told us that reparation would be total.

On Friday, the 6th, we held an administrative committee meeting in Amilcar and presented two solutions to the government: complete reparation for the harm done to the purchasing power of the workers. Or -- and this was the proposal that we preferred by far -- cancellation of the price increases affecting bread and grain by-products. At 1000 hours, we contacted our friends in government, who told us that the possibility of cancelling the increases was being discussed. It was around 1100 hours that we were notified that the government had gone back on its decision to increase the price of bread.

[Question] Some blame you for defending the workers only against the effects of the elimination of the compensation fund and for ignoring large groups of the population.

[Answer] I believe that we took everyone into account. We said that as labor leaders, we would not accept any reduction in the purchasing power of the workers. Next, since we are part of the people, we said which solution

we preferred, the one that even the government finally chose. We did not lose sight of the interests of the workers or those of the population.

[Question] The Tunis Council of Upper-Level Personnel, meeting recently in Amilcar, spoke out on the government's attitude toward the UGTT in the light of recent events. As you said, the government did not consult the UGTT. Furthermore, we know that you sent a letter to the government in which you asked that it consult you in drafting the new budget. For its part, the government sent you, we were informed, a document including the general lines of the new budget and the series of measures it intends to take so that the elimination of the bread compensation will not cause a sudden increase in prices.

[Answer] The meeting of officials from Tunis resulted in a position on all the problems resulting from the increase in the price of bread. The government bears much of the responsibility for what happened because no one can deny that if that 110-percent increase in the price of bread had not been made, the uprising would not have taken place. As proof, when the president decided to go back on the decision, the demonstrations of anger quickly turned into demonstrations of joy. This proves that the only reason for the uprising is the excessive increase in prices for bread and grain products. Our comrades quite naturally believe that responsibility for the uprising mainly belongs to the government. This does not mean that the UGTT has taken a position to justify the looting and burning because there was definitely something to demonstrate about, but to go further is inadmissible, especially in a country like ours, which we are trying to push forward in order to enable the people to live under better conditions.

[Question] Are you satisfied that the government sent you the document concerning the new budget?

[Answer] We asked the government to consult us before those decisions, which it did do. But in the document sent to us, there is a list of products whose prices have been increased and I personally believe that there are things on that list, such as the increase in the price of wine or luxury items. The government perhaps anticipates increases in the prices of grain and grain products, but we have given our position. We believe that the government must consult us before making that decision.

[Question] According to information from trade union circles, we have learned that the government has decided upon certain increases without anticipating any wage negotiations.

[Answer] I believe that these increases do not affect the purchasing power of wages. They are not incorporated into the household grocery basket.

[Question] The UGTT has still formulated concrete proposals concerning the country's basic problems. To get back to the matter of the compensation fund, goes the UGTT consulting office plan to make specific proposals to rectify the economic situation in the country? What are they?

[Answer] We have experts working on statistics. They will study the documents and give their opinion, which will be submitted to the national council of the UGTT that is scheduled to meet in March.

[Question] The "Seven" kicked out of the UGTT say they are in the process of setting up "independent" unions. Will such action tend to express trade union pluralism in the country?

[Answer] In the beginning, the Seven excluded themselves from the UGTT by freezing their relations with the UGTT, but when they freeze their relations for 8 months or a year, the UGTT must still operate. Naturally, we thought that this manner of proceeding was a serious act of insubordination that had to be penalized by the UGTT. The latter spoke out and made the decision to oust them.

Naturally, after my meeting with the president, we went to the congress, but Bouraoui left the very next day and for eight months, out of fear of seeing me. His colleagues said that H. Achour was going to liquidate him. But I was only asking to work in the interest of the UGTT. They seemed a little distrustful, but nothing in my remarks ever indicated that I viewed them in a different fashion. I have always considered the comrades with me on the same level. The comrades eliminated them. Sympathizers with the Seven, whether deputies or secretaries of the regional unions, all jumped. The Seven had nothing left. From that time on, they have said that they would like to do something else.

[Question] Many trade unionists told us that without direct or indirect aid from the government, the Seven could do nothing. What do you think?

[Answer] The Seven initially had contact with the prime minister. After that contact they said that the prime minister and the party were with them and supported them. But the prime minister and Mezri Chkir told us they could recognize only the UGTT, with which they have very good relations. I hope that these relations will continue as in the past, serious and solid. That is also what I have been told. It would appear that Naji Chaari said he wanted to publish two newspapers in French and Arabic. I simply replied that he perhaps inherited something from an uncle in America! Our comrades here do not speak as I do. They say that a member of the government known for his trade union past brings them together at his home and attends their meetings. They have trouble accepting that a minister should throw in with these people without the government's consent. Furthermore, people say they are helped by the party. Listen, whether they are supported by the government, the party or a foreign nation, the Seven will not go far because the workers in our country are deeply attached to their organization. They are not attached to H. Achour or any individual. Aware of our strength, aware of the importance of our organization, I ask all the people not to worry about this situation. Their organization remains just as strong as it was in the past. It will not cease working in the interest of the workers and the people, both in the field of well-being and those of democracy and freedom.



[Question] The Seven say that if the prime minister refuses to help them, it is only because there was a pact between Mzali and Achour in Monastir.

[Answer] I was summoned from Kerkennah by the government to go to Monastir solely because Gueddafi wanted to see me. I went to Monastir. At that time, the matter of the Seven did not exist, as far as I know. I naturally discussed the social situation with Mzali.

[Question] The UGTT has always taken a position on the basic questions concerning the country. What do you think of the latest political developments?

[Answer] There is first of all one thing we never expected, which is the appointment of a military man to a post of responsibility in the Ministry of Interior, who occupied that post on 26 January. We had correct, even friendly relations, and I told the press more than once that with Mzali at the time of the most recent events, we did everything possible to avoid the worst. The government said that it was happy with the UGTT's position. I believe that we have been very poorly rewarded. And I can tell you that in the meetings in Tunis and Bizerte, the atmosphere started to heat up. Trade unionists have begun to doubt the government's sincerity about us. The workers have asked us not to speak of any more friendly cooperation with the prime minister.

[Question] What do you think of the investigative commission set up to look into the 3 January events?

[Answer] I do not want to meddle in the government's affairs and that is no secret. When I was in Geneva, Driss Guiga phoned me to tell me that he only worked in the interest of everyone. With respect to the responsibility of the minister of interior, we are sometimes used to naming a scapegoat. But I believe that the government is one.

[Question] You do not seem satisfied with the makeup of the investigative commission?

[Answer] On an investigative commission, there must be people's organizations represented. It was the people who were affected by the events and consequently, the organizations representing the people must be represented on the commission.

[Question] It would seem that when you call your national council together, you will discuss the principle of withdrawing your deputies from the Chamber of Deputies.

[Answer] Any comrade named to the national council has the right to bring up the question. This question has been raised in the administrative council and the council of upper-level personnel and I believe, without committing myself totally, that for the time being, it will be very difficult for the UGTT to ask comrades to withdraw from the Chamber of Deputies. The question is posed but the principle of the withdrawal is not decided.

[Question] The UGTT seems to make the establishment of an unemployment fund one of its warhorses. Does the UGTT has specific proposals on this point?

[Answer] Such unemployment funds exist elsewhere and creating one in Tunisia would be too expensive because the unemployed are as numerous as the workers! But it is a possibility to study. The UGTT has named a committee to study this problem and the possibilities of feeding such a fund and the allocations it would provide. In Europe, the word "unemployed" means someone who had a job but who lost it. Here, a large number of persons have never worked and that is what will continue to cause demonstrations and discontent.

11,464

CSO: 4519/109

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, OUTLOOK SURVEYED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 31 Jan 84 p 13

[Article: "An Economy at the Crossroads"]

[Text] Although Bahrain is not a major oil-producing state, its economic performance has been negatively affected by several factors, among them the decline in the oil revenues of the neighboring Gulf states, the war going on between Iran and Iraq, the Suqal-Manakh crisis, and, finally, the change that has occurred in Saudi banking policy with regard to the operations of offshore banking units.

These developments have had a negative effect on the Bahraini market. They have increased the state of stagnation to be found in all areas of economic activity.

Economic Growth...a Decline in Real Growth

Total growth in Bahrain slowed down by less than 5 percent in 1983, despite the assistance provided by the brothers on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This decline must be compared with the increase of 6 percent that occurred in the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1982, and the 9 percent increase that occurred in 1981. Although officials expect that this year's growth rate will hit 6 percent, the tendency toward a decline in oil income and capital expenditures will tend to slow the rate of expansion and growth. Moreover, the large foreign worker sector, which now accounts for 32 percent of the population, "will be decreased in size during the next 2 years." This will have other effects, such as a slow-down in the movement of the wheel of economic growth.

Bahrain's rate of inflation, which is based on the consumer price index, fell to about 6 percent in 1982. This is to be compared with a rate of 8 percent in 1981. However, it is expected that inflation will hold steady at around 6 percent in 1983.

The Government Budget and Development... Distributing Expenditures Across Longer Periods

Because of its limited oil income, Bahrain is trying very hard to diversify its economic base. It is doing so by developing its oil-related industries,



exploiting its natural gas reserves, and setting up a chain of alternate industries, such as an aluminum plant and dry docks. In addition, Bahrain is beginning to develop as a leading center for trade and finance in the region. In this area, it is helped by the advanced communications systems it enjoys and by its transportation and communications facilities.

Development spending in Bahrain has fallen as a result of the fall in oil revenues and the predictions of a long-term drop in oil production made last year by the Bahraini Monetary Institution. Therefore, petroleum's share of Bahrain's total national income suffered a hefty fall in 1983, reaching 75 percent. Last year, the government extended the 1982/1985 development plan by 2 years, in order to lower the total funds allocated to capital spending and to decrease foreign borrowing. In 1983, spending was less than 230 million Bahraini dinars.

Because of the assistance it has received from the GCC countries, Bahrain has been able to continue its priority projects, despite the drop in the oil revenues of these states.

The 1984 budget, which can be described as balanced, reflects the fact that the government is committed to spending only \$1.45 billion, in order to avoid a deficit and an increase in foreign indebtedness. According to the plan, spending in 1984 might reach 545 million Bahraini dinars. This is equal to \$1.45 billion. This is 16 percent lower than the expenditures estimated for the budget last year.

Development projects having to do with power generation, means of transportation, and basic infrastructure have been allocated 43 percent of total spending. Current expenditures, which amount to 313.1 million Bahraini dinars, are being decreased by means of reducing support for basic commodities. It has been decided that expenditures will precisely equal revenues. The sector is expected to contribute about 68 percent of revenues. This amounts to 370.6 million Bahraini dinars. Moreover, loans and assistance represent 10 percent of the state's income. The source of the remaining 22 percent will be taxes and import fees.

#### The Oil Sector

Bahrain's coastal oil reserves are estimated to be about 300 million barrels. Production fell by 5 percent annually for successive years, until it reached 45,000 barrels a day in 1982, as compared with 77,000 barrels a day in 1970. However, oil income rose as a result of the income earned from the field shared with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Bahrain has a 50 percent share in this field. Moreover, Bahrain gets most of the crude oil necessary for its petroleum refinery at Sitra from Saudi Arabia. The productive capacity of this refinery is 250,000 barrels a day. The recent sharp decline in its activity, which occurred as a result of the world oil glut, has had a great effect on profitability, since only a very small proportion of its production is consumed locally. The vast majority of its output -- 97 percent -- is used for export.

The production of refined oil fell by 24.4 percent, reaching 70.83 million barrels in 1982. At the same time, natural gas production fell for the 3rd year in a row, reaching 130.5 billion cubic feet. This represents a decline of 16 percent. The rate of oil production during 1983 was about 41,000 barrels a day. That is, it was 5 percent lower than the level reached in 1982.

#### The Banking System and Finance...the Financial Center That Is Losing Some of its Brilliant Promise

Bahrain's role as a regional financial center has been growing strongly since 1975, when the first license was issued to an offshore banking unit as part of the government's policy of diversifying the economy and avoiding dependence on oil. The number of these units increased from 26 at the end of 1976 to 74 at the end of 1983.

The total assets of these off-shore banking units in Bahrain rose to \$59 billion in 1982. That is, they increased by 16.2 percent in comparison with the figure of 35 percent in 1981. The offshore banks continued to transfer funds from the region to other parts of the world. Net borrowing from the Arab countries rose to \$10.5 billion. This represented an increase of 13 percent over the level reached in 1981. Deposits from the Arab states amounted to \$39.5 billion, or 62 percent of total liabilities, while loans to the Arab countries reached \$29 billion, or 49 percent of total assets. The dollar's share of the total market amounted to 72.3 percent of assets in 1982, in comparison with 67.6 percent in 1981. It rose to 69 percent of liabilities, in comparison with 65 percent in 1981.

Bahrain's total balance of payments surplus fell by 79 percent in 1982, reaching \$172 million, in comparison with \$806 million in 1981. The trade surplus alone fell by 73 percent, reaching \$60 million. The percentage of the deficit in the non-oil sector increased 5.7 percent in 1982, reaching \$1.235 billion, as compared with \$1.167 billion in 1981.

Crude oil imports, most of which come from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, declined by about 29 percent in terms of volume in 1982, in addition to falling by about \$640 million in terms of value. They fell from \$2.48 billion in 1981 to \$1.84 billion in 1982.

Refined oil exports also suffered a decline. In terms of value, they fell 19 percent. They amounted to \$3.132 billion in 1982, as compared with \$3.87 billion in 1981.

#### Foreign Debts...Some Burden Still Exists

No statistics are available about total indebtedness. However, it is believed that some small foreign loans are due. The service payments on these debts amount to 4 percent, which is a low figure.

In 1980, the government borrowed the sum of \$327 million in European currencies, in order to finance the purchase of an interest in the oil refinery.

In 1982, the sum of \$375 million was contracted. Most of it was used to finance the construction of the petrochemical complex. Although it is expected that more loans will be taken, Bahrain will definitely have no difficulty in meeting its obligations.

#### Future Trends

It is expected that Bahrain will continue to experience low rates of growth in 1984, in view of the government's strict financial stance and the general decline in oil revenues in the neighboring states, not to mention lower returns from exports.

As a result of that, it is expected that the government will move to take the following measures:

1. It will take the steps necessary to assure the financial requirements of the public sector, within the limits of its sources of income. Moreover, it will extend the period of the development plan from 4 to 6 years. This will help to decrease the financial burdens.
2. It will encourage the private sector to participate to a greater extent in financing the development plans. It will do so by issuing development bonds, lowering the support given to energy and water, and levying a service charge for some public services.
3. The Bahraini monetary authorities must try harder to create means of monetary supervision that can confront and respond to the powerful variables affecting financial arrangements in the region.
4. Bahrain's role as a regional financial center has reached the stage of maturity, given the limited opportunities for growth. This is due to the following reasons:
  - a. The decline in the oil revenues of the neighboring states has decreased the volume of commercial activity and the income levels of the offshore banks.
  - b. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is imposing more controls on the activities of offshore banks in the Saudi market. In addition, controls are being placed on the use of the Saudi riyal in joint loans, in order to rein in the internationalization of the riyal. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia accounts for 60 to 70 percent of the activity of most offshore banks and there is no doubt that the recent Saudi measures will affect the profitability of these banks.
  - c. The fall in the assets and profits of the offshore banks is compelling many of them to study closely the future potential and opportunities for practicing their activities in Bahrain, while others have scaled down their activities there. It is expected that they will leave the region soon, given the intensified competition among the Arab banks.

## EXECUTION OF NEW HIGH-TECHNOLOGY PROJECTS REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 24 Dec 83 p 6

/Article by Majid al-Lami: "The Chairman of the General Industrial Design and Construction Organization Talks to AL-JUMHURIYAH: Construction of 190 High-Technology Projects"/

/Text/ The General Industrial Design and Construction Organization plays a large, major role in the construction of projects in the socialist industrial sector, directly or with the participation of specialized international and local firms, in accordance with the platform that has been drawn up for it in the national development plans.

To learn about the tasks the organization assumes, its chairman spoke to us, stating, "The first task which the organization is charged with is to assume the construction of industrial projects, starting with the preparation of economic studies and the provision of technical specifications for them, the announcement of the projects and the conclusion of contracts with international companies in their regard. The organization also prepares designs and specifications and supervises the execution of engineering and civil site work through its supervisors at the job sites. More clearly, the organization is in charge of the task of carrying out industrial projects, from the initial idea to the activities of installing machinery and equipment, the test operation of the project and its delivery to the body which will be using it. Of course, that is realized through the interconnection between the administrative formation and the administrative structure of the organization, which will consist of specialized bodies and departments for the design, study and projects body, in addition to the General Industrial Construction Agency and the General Industrial Housing Agency."

#### Construction of Numerous Projects

He added, "The organization has carried out many projects, and still is playing the major role in constructing and carrying out the industrial sector's national development plan, since the construction of most projects in this sector, in all areas of the country, has been assigned to the organization. In spite of the enormous magnitude of this task, the organization has carried out most of this work at a high level, and the outcome has been the production of dozens of industrial high-technology projects with large capacities



in terms of volume and size of investment, such as projects to manufacture fertilizer, petrochemicals, iron and steel, paper, cement, large bricks, gypsum, thermstone (sic), and food, textile and machinery industries.

"The projects carried out in the period 1970-1982 numbered about 190, of which 145 have been completed."

#### Vital and Basic

The chairman of the organization spoke on the subject of the choice of the technology for the projects, saying:

"This issue, without a doubt, is vital and basic to the construction and establishment of the project, its future, its economic and technical yield, its proper performance, its management and the guarantee of its continued operation at the desired level. A number of considerations are taken when the technology for the project is selected, foremost among them the primary materials, the country's local circumstances, the caliber of services available, the degree of technical labor and primary materials, the extent to which that is suited to the technology chosen, the pre-existing technology that has accumulated in the event it is available in that field, the economic budget, and finally the location of this technology, internationally, and the extent to which tested technology with stable aspects has taken root, on the basis of the statistical information that is available locally and internationally from competent bodies and international consulting firms. By combining these factors, the technology which is most suited to our circumstances and requirements is consolidated."

#### A Specialized Consulting Firm

Regarding the experience the General Industrial Design and Construction Organization has gone through, and the possibility of its entering into activities of domestic projects:

The chairman of the organization said, "It is possible to consider our organization a specialized consulting firm, since its responsibility extends from the preliminary stages of the project, with the formation of the idea of the project, the study of its technical and economic feasibility, the preparation of bid and technical specification documents, the analysis of bids, the transfer and examination of detailed engineering specifications, blueprints and maps, the selection of technological approaches, supervision of site construction stages, participation in the alleviation of bottlenecks, and even the construction and startup operation of the project, with the objective of delivering it to the productive organizations.

"This situation has become actual fact and practice, and all previous experiments have proved this organization's status as a specialized consulting firm in this field."

He went on, "There is good expertise in chemical fertilizer projects, paper, iron and steel projects, and petrochemical industries. The issue of offering counsel and advice regarding the technical, technological and construction aspects which this organization pursues to national bodies outside the context of the ministry is relevant, and is actually carried out by the organization, although to a limited degree."

#### Stages of Project Construction

The chairman of the General Industrial Design and Construction Agency then called for further coordination and actual, serious, broad participation in project construction stages by the productive organizations, with the objective of facilitating these organizations' task when they receive the project after its construction and its experimental operation is a success and certificates of acceptance in principle are issued after the personnel taking part in the productive organizations have studied the stages of participation in the project.

/These stages are/ especially those of participation in close analysis of designs and specifications, where the stages of their construction are observed at the site, which consequently contributes to the establishment of positive relations with the bodies performing the construction.

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CSO: 4404/314

# VOLUME OF TRADE IN KURDISH AREAS REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 26 Dec 83 p 8

/Article: "The Secretary General for Administrative and Financial Affairs: 85 Million Dinars in Trade in 1983"/

/Text/ In attempting to ascertain the progress of work in the autonomous region's secretariat general of administrative and financial affairs, we learned that this secretariat supervises the executive activity of the agencies of the Ministries of Finance, Trade, and Industry, since the secretary general of administrative and financial affairs in the autonomous region has membership in these ministries' boards.

Dr Sa'di Isma'il al-Barjanji, the secretary general for administrative and financial affairs, spoke to us at first about the secretariat's most recent activities, stating:

"The secretariat's budget for 1984 has been prepared, having been discussed at the latest sessions of the legislative council and presented to the Ministry of Finance for approval.

"In spite of the circumstances of our defensive war of confrontation with the vindictive Iranian aggression, no fundamental reductions have been made in the 1983 budget of the secretariat general, in view of the absolute support from the leadership of the party and the revolution for the demands of development and social and economic advancement in the autonomous area."

He presented us with a group of indicators that give proof of this state of affairs, saying:

"The volume of trade in the area came to 85 million dinars in 1983. This figure clearly shows the solidity of economic conditions and the revolution's concern to provide constant development in the citizens' living conditions, in spite of the circumstances of war."

He pointed out that the overall trade is distributed among the branches of the agencies involved in trade in foodstuffs, iron, wood, precision instruments and cars, in addition to the two branches of the Iraqi Commercial



/Organization/ and the Iraqi Warehouses /Organization/, the central market in Dahuk, and the two branches of the General Implement and Hand Tool Agency in Irbil and al-Sulaymaniyah.

He asserted that the secretariat general and its agencies, in full coordination with the Ministry of Commerce, are trying to expand the distribution outlets for consumer and production goods and commodities and guarantee that they get to all the citizens, by concentrating on the citizens' agencies in the districts, subdistricts and modern villages, in order to meet each area's actual needs when they are being supplied, in view of the accuracy of the accounts of the agencies concerned as regards activity, since they have taken into consideration the likely circumstances from the standpoint of marketing and have provided appropriate quantities of various commodities in order to meet the citizens' needs, especially in the locations of communities characterized by their population density, tourist areas, and educational centers. The number of these agents has risen to cover all areas of the autonomous governorates.

Concerning the most important projects which will contribute to developing activities which are aimed at strengthening the services offered to the citizens, the secretary general of administrative and financial affairs pointed to the construction of a complex for marketing foodstuffs in Irbil where special warehouses exist for keeping foodstuffs, in addition to a similar complex in al-Sulaymaniyah and the building belonging to the branch of the General Foodstuff Commerce Agency.

The construction of the Irbil mill project and the new automated bakery in Irbil has also been completed, while work is continuing on the construction of another automated oven in al-Sulaymaniyah, alongside the construction of the 14,000-ton Zakhu grain silo project, and work is continuing at high rates to complete the Dahuk silo and the al-Sulaymaniyah silo.

Dr Sa'di al-Barzanji pointed out that the development and service activity that is being carried out in the autonomous region is aimed at compensating the area for the circumstances of backwardness that resulted from bygone eras, proceeding from the revolution's policy and the directives of its historic leader, the president and commander Saddam Husayn, to develop the life of the masses of the region, who stand as a deterrent barrier in the face of the vindictive Iranian aggression and the attempts by agents to damage national unity.

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COMMERCE MINISTRY TIGHTENS UP ON DISTRIBUTION, SUSTAINS SUPPLY

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 22 Dec 83 p 5

/Article by Yunis al-Shukraji: "A Conversation with the Deputy Minister of Trade: Stiff Penalties for People Committing Economic Crimes"/

/Text/ Dealing on the black market constitutes a negative phenomenon. Its effects are reflected on citizens on the one hand and on the domestic economy on the other. This phenomenon acquires its gravity in current circumstances, as our fighting country is waging its just struggle against the vindictive, racist Iranian regime.

Although the revolution has exerted honorable exceptional efforts to provide various goods, services and essential needs for the citizens, and has inundated the market with them in a manner which has made them available at a high level of quality, some people with diseased spirits, in the quest for illegal profit, are trying to hide commodities or trade them on the black market. This illegal dealing in wartime is on a par with treason against the nation.

In order to ascertain the dimensions of and reasons for this phenomenon, and the remedies which responsible authorities have taken to limit it and do away with it, and for the sake of shedding light on the legislation and penal laws which will prevent this phenomenon and limit its spread, AL-JUMHURIYAH held a conversation with Mr Abu Talib 'Abd-al-Muttalib al-Hashimi, the deputy minister of commerce. Herewith is the text of the conversation:

AL-JUMHURIYAH: Attempts have recently been made by people with weak spirits to hide some commodities, increase their prices or deal on the black market. Why has this phenomenon manifested itself? What are your measures for eliminating it, on grounds that it is a negative phenomenon impeding the country's economic progress?

The deputy minister: When the balance between supply and demand is disrupted, in the case of any commodity, illegal activities appear, including the activities of dealing on the black market. There are abusive elements which try to benefit from the exceptional circumstances our country is going through as it is waging its just war. During this stage, in which all efforts,

powers and resources have been mobilized, and citizens at all levels have taken part in the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah to achieve better productivity in all work areas and stand in a single rank behind the leadership of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, some illegal practices have manifested themselves on the part of some people with weak spirits. The Ministry of Commerce has taken a series of steps which will have the effect of working to strengthen economic perseverance and regulate commercial affairs in accordance with the major goals and the new changes which the commanders have asked us for, including pressure on spending and the guidance of consumption, especially now that the puppet Syrian regime has put a stop to the transit of Iraqi oil and transit trade over its territory, the port of Basrah has shut down, and goods and commodities do not come in through that port. All these matters and complications have prompted us to adopt a number of measures to organize the process of marketing and distributing some luxury and semi-essential goods and to finance the resources, abilities and capacities to provide basic materials and foodstuffs. Therefore, when a black market situation appears, with certain types of luxury and semi-essential goods, and perhaps sometimes essential goods, that comes about as the result of some aberrant acts or complications in the processes of delivery and distribution and the failure to carry out plans in an accurate, sound manner, preparing the road for some people with diseased spirits to exploit these bottlenecks.

In order to surmount these cases, the government has directly taken a number of measures to create a state of balance between supply and demand, eliminate obstacles and do away with bottlenecks in various basic goods and services, foremost among them foodstuffs. It has also sought to create a state of stability for supplies of these goods and commodities and regularity in their smooth flow, in order to prevent them from being traded on the black market. Stability in commodity supplies is to be considered the radical fundamental solution to eliminate this phenomenon. However, in the case of luxury and other goods whose allocations have been eliminated, or restricted, we find that some pathological elements still exploit these measures from time to time and carry out trade, in particular in commodities which are affected by taste, season, quality and so forth.

The office of the chairman of the Office of the Presidency has issued a decree stating that surveillance by the people must be intensified and official oversight departments inside and outside the Ministry of Commerce must be supported. In reality, a new statute has been issued to regulate surveillance by the people, in coordination with mass organizations, and violators will be brought before the commerce courts in application of Commerce Regulation Law 20 for 1970 and its amendments. These people will receive the punishments they deserve for exploiting the current circumstances which our fighting country is going through and failing to grasp the nature of these circumstances.

The Council of Ministers has passed a decree calling for the confiscation of the movable properties of the owners of warehouses or agencies who commit violations and exploitation, if it is officially proved in the course of

investigation that they have hoarded a given commodity, increased its prices, or speculated in its specifications and weights, and their movable properties will be distributed free of charge among the people in the area under the auspices of the governorate, mass organizations or official agencies in the area in which the violation occurs.

Other decrees have been issued in this regard, some of which include the refusal to release accused persons who commit violations and are brought before the commerce courts until their case is reviewed and a verdict is issued by the competent courts.

We are working seriously to distribute commercial overseers, in coordination with the official and people's oversight agencies, to observe violations and take stringent penalties, including administrative penalties, such as eliminating the agency or suspending it for a specific period, or transferring the violator to the courts so that he may receive the punishment he deserves.

In this area I can assert that official surveillance activities cannot achieve positive results without cooperation from all consumers, their giving notice of violations and their providing competent bodies with information, and without cooperation with the people's assemblies and mass organizations.

#### Penal Legislation against People Dealing in the Black Market

AL-JUMHURIYAH: The revolution has issued numerous items of legislation which include penal provisions against people speculating in prices and dealing on the black market, or people committing economic crimes. Could you talk to us about the most important of these items of legislation, and the penal provisions they contain?

The deputy minister: The legislation the revolution has issued was harmonious with the central directive of the command, which had the objective of creating radical changes in all areas of life, including, in particular, the economic area.

Commercial Regulation Law 20 for 1970 and its amendments lie in the forefront of this legislation, as they are considered revolutionary "legislation" which has resolved many commercial disputes and defined the conduct of people speculating in prices, hoarders and black market dealers.

Article 10 of the law states "Anyone who imports or exports, with the goal of dealing in a commodity in violation of the import export conditions which the competent bodies have decreed and declared; anyone deliberately violating the conditions of protecting agricultural, industrial, livestock or natural production; anyone deliberately refraining from presenting registers, documents or evidence in execution of a decree, statement or orders issued in accordance with this law; anyone deliberately furnishing incorrect information or presenting falsified or untrue registers, documents or evidence knowingly; anyone deliberately preventing an employee or someone in charge



of public service from performing his duties in accordance with this law; anyone fabricating a material whose fabrication has been prohibited, changing the form of a material with the objective of evading restrictions imposed on its use, or using it in violation of any statement or order issued regarding the method for using it; anyone engaging in sales, purchase or mediation among sellers and buyers in any form, in violation of the provisions or statements issued in regard to it, or engaging in the sales or purchase of materials in which transactions are prohibited or in which transactions by people who are not registered permit-holders are prohibited; anyone dealing with a raw material that is imported or produced locally in violation of the purpose for which it was imported, produced or prepared; anyone producing or manufacturing a commodity enjoying protection in violation of the conditions or specifications on whose basis the protection has been granted; anyone storing, distributing, or transporting any commodity included in this law or in whose possession warehouse materials are found; and anyone who carries out an act affecting goods, services or properties, increasing their prices or reducing their supply, or leading to their collection or withholding from the public in a manner which conflicts with the economic policy of the government, will be punished by prison for a period of no more than 10 years and no less than 3 years, and a fine of no more than 3,000 dinars and no less than 1,000 dinars."

Paragraphs A and B of Article 11 of this law are more stringent in the penalties they impose on economic violations. Paragraph A includes punishment by prison for life or for a period of no less than 10 years, and a fine of no more than 3,000 dinars or less than 1,000 dinars, for people who falsify or distort any document, certificate or permit issued in accordance with this law or data issued in accordance with its provisions, who have used them in their work by falsifying them, or have used a document, certificate or permit for purposes other than that for which it was drawn up, in violation of the orders and statements issued on its use, and people who offer misleading information knowingly, as a result of which decrees are taken on a matter which is harmful to the national economy, or who hide, damage, destroy, render inoperable or deliberately cause extreme harm to means of production or goods or services which are determined to have been handled or made unfit for use.

Paragraph B stipulates that "anyone committing one of the crimes mentioned in Paragraph A of this article, from which sabotage to the domestic economic and extreme damage to the public interest result, will be punished by death, life imprisonment or imprisonment for a period of no less than 15 years and a fine of no more than 5,000 dinars and no less than 2,000 dinars."

In addition to that, a very short period ago, the minister of commerce, with reliance on Commercial Regulation Law 20 for 1970 and its amendments, issued Statements Three and Four for 1983 to all deputies, people dealing with the commercial sector, and producers and craftsmen. These involve the regulation of all commercial and productive activities, in which the duties and commitments of these persons, and the rights of consumers, are established.

passing through, adoption by the people of the main role in deepening and exercising surveillance, and finally commitment in precise form and execution of the instructions and directives of the party and the revolution on economic matters.

The citizens should contribute to surveillance by the people, since they are consumers first of all, through their presence in the party and mass organizations and people's assemblies. Citizens should present reports on violations and their types to the organization they belong to, and these organizations should be granted the power to submit the reports to the examining magistrates within the organizations in accordance with a registry of receipt. It is possible to send a copy of the reports to the higher leaders or to combine these cases in a consolidated weekly or twice-monthly report, to make it easier to learn about violations in their natural environment and analyze the phenomena, and subsequently to set out more effective means for coping with them.

#### Temporary Bottlenecks

AL-JUMHURIYAH: The market for food and basic materials and commodities in our country has preserved its stability, in spite of the circumstances of the war, which has entered its fourth year. However, it has been observed that this market witnessed a temporary scarcity of some of these commodities during the current year. What are the reasons for this scarcity? What are the expectations for the future?

The deputy minister: In the past 2 years, an obvious stability has occurred in all types of basic commodities and materials in the Iraqi market because of the creation of commodity balance between the goods that are supplied and those the public of consumers demands. The smooth flow of most goods and materials into the markets has continued in a normal manner, in spite of the circumstances of war.

However, in certain months, temporary bottlenecks and scarcities have occurred in the supply of foodstuffs because of newly arising changes in methods of carrying out the import program and the change of ports through which the imported commodities and goods arrive. These changes are outside our will, and have occurred as a result of the treasonous position of the Syrian regime, which has prohibited the passage of oil and transit trade over Syrian territory, and the circumstances of our just war with the vindictive Iranian regime, in addition to central directives bearing on the guidance of consumption and the regulation of the process of importing basic commodities. All these matters have dictated a modification in the trade plans, in particular the marketing plans.

In the Ministry of Commerce, a number of coordination meetings have been held with the commercial oversight departments, agencies and people's assemblies with the objective of following up on market conditions, fighting the black market and agreeing on new formulas for oversight by the people by the people, and we believe that these measures will eliminate the fluctuations which our markets witnessed for a few months this year.

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## TRANSPORTATION, JUVENILE LAWS GO INTO EFFECT IN FEBRUARY

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Jan 84 p 7

[Article: "New Transportation and Juvenile Protection Laws Go into Effect Next February; Phenomenon of Juvenile Delinquency To Be Curbed, Best Transportation Services To Be Offered"]

[Text] The editor of local affairs wrote that the Juvenile Protection Law, Law Number 76 for 1983, as well as the Transportation Law, Law Number 80 for 1983, would go into effect on the 1st and the 8th of next February, respectively. These two laws are among the laws of the first stage of the plan to reform the legal system.

The aim of the first law is to curb the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency by protecting juveniles from delinquency, treating delinquents and helping them adjust socially in accordance with the moral values and rules of a society that is going through a stage of building socialism.

To achieve its objectives the law depends on a number of principles, such as the early detection of minors who are likely to become delinquent so they can be treated before they turn to crime. The law defines the responsibility of guardians who fail to fulfill their duties to children or minor in case they turn to crime. The law provides for parental authority to be taken away if that is in the interests of a child or a minor and society. The law provides that a minor who turns to crime be treated according to scientific principles and to a humanitarian perspective. The law provides for subsequent care for minors as a means of bringing them back into society and protecting them from going back to crime. The law provides for popular organizations to join specialized agencies in devising and pursuing the implementation of the general plan for the protection of juveniles.

The law defines a child as someone who is less than 9 years old. A minor is a person who has reached the age of 9 but who is under 18. A person who is 9 years old but not yet 15 is considered a youth who is under 18.

The law defines guardians as the father and mother [of a child or minor] or any person who has charge of a child or minor or who has been entrusted by a decision of the court with the task of bringing up either a child or a minor.



In accordance with the law a council for the protection of minors is to be formed. This council is to be headed by the minister of labor and the minister of social affairs. Members of the council are to include a number of judges, specialists and representatives of popular organizations. The council is to discuss and approve a policy on juvenile delinquency, and it is to make recommendations to protect society from the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. The law stipulated that offices for personality studies were to be set up and that these offices were to be linked with the councils on minors. These offices would conduct medical and psychological examinations on minors, and they would conduct social investigations as well.

The law required the General Association of Iraqi Women to establish committees for family consultations on marital relations, on raising children and on the problems of children. The General Association of Iraqi Women is to work with the General Association of Iraqi Youth to establish committees for the protection of minors. These committees are to take part in supervising care for minors in foster homes in case parental custody is taken away. These committees are to help school administration officials diagnose and treat minors with problems.

Sections of the law dealt with the homelessness and delinquency of minors; the responsibility of guardians; taking away parental custody; remanding [minors to the custody of the court]; administering juvenile justice; supervising the conduct of minors; and providing subsequent care for them.

One of the most important justifications for enactment of this law is the need to curb the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency by establishing an integrated regulatory system that would be based on scientific principles. That system would not confine itself to the treatment of juvenile delinquents, but it would also try to protect minors from turning to crime. After mandatory measures are carried out, the system would provide minors with subsequent care to keep them from going back to crime. Since subsequent care is that part of the treatment which completes the course of therapy, it has become essential that criminal policy regarding juvenile delinquents be reconsidered and that a law whose aim is to achieve protection and provide treatment and subsequent care be enacted.

The law emphasized the preventive aspect of this issue by adopting the principle of early detection of minors who are likely to become delinquent. The law entrusted the Ministry of Health with the task of setting up an office for psychological and social services in the capital of each governorate. These offices would study the cases of problem students or those students who are likely to become delinquent, and they would make plans for their treatment before they turn to crime. These offices would work with the guardians of those minors to make them understand the problems of those minors. The law broadened the context in which popular organizations, professional organizations and school administrations can contribute to the effort of providing psychological and social care to guard against delinquency. The law also broadened the context in which the responsibilities of these organizations in this area are defined.

The law set forth provisions that are new to the field of juvenile justice. These dealt with investigative and court procedures. In treatment the law gave the office for personality studies an important role in diagnosing the social, psychological and mental condition of minors as well as their emotional maturity. The

law emphasized subsequent care for minors following the period of their incarceration because such care is the means by which their treatment would be completed. The law stipulated that a department for subsequent care be created to provide minors with guidance to face a new life.

### The Transportation Law

The aim of the Transportation Law is to regulate transportation and ensure that the best transportation services for humans and objects are provided. The aim of the law is to establish a just balance between parties to a transportation contract and to help in achieving the requirements of national development plans.

This law is based on the principles of standardizing the rules that govern transportation and making the legal relationship prevail over the contractual relationship. It is based on the principle of guaranteeing that the socialist sector will lead and guide transportation activity.

The provisions of this law apply to all kinds of transportation notwithstanding the characteristics of the carrier, provided the provisions of international agreements to which Iraq is signatory are complied with.

The law requires passengers to pay their fare at the time set for such payment and to follow the carrier's declared instructions. If passengers use a transportation service without paying the fare or if they evade payment of a due fare while the transportation service is being provided to them, they will have to pay a double fare, which shall not be less than 5 dinars. A carrier is obliged to carry passengers and their luggage to their destination on vehicles that are in every way suitable for such transportation, in accordance with the agreement and on the time scheduled for that. The law permitted passengers to request during a journey that their tickets be upgraded by paying the additional fare, provided that the nature of the transportation and the capabilities of the carrier make that feasible. The law mandated that transportation tickets be issued to passengers and that these tickets, except those for intra-city transportation, be issued in accordance with the model set for them.

A shipping document is an instrument that confirms a transportation contract. It is considered evidence that a carrier received an object to be shipped and that he received it in the condition described in the document. This shipping document entitles its holder to take delivery of that object which was shipped.

The law defined a transportation agent working on commission as someone whose contract obligates him to conclude in his name a transportation contract for his client, the passenger or the addressee, or when necessary to carry out operations that are related to transportation.

Acting on behalf of a transportation carrier involves a contract by which a carrier's representative is bound to take the legal measures and actions pertaining thereto on behalf of a carrier and at his expense.

The statute of limitations for passengers to claim from a carrier damages for loss of life or bodily injury is 3 years. In case of death this period applies from the date of death, and in case of bodily injury, from the date of the accident.

The statute of limitations for other passenger claims arising from a transportation contract is 2 years from the date of arrival at the set destination or the time appointed for such arrival. When such a date is not set, then the effective date becomes that on which the destination would have been reached by an ordinary carrier under the same conditions.

In the area of transportation by motor vehicles the law forbids the departure of a motor vehicle from stations prepared for their departure unless the agency in question is certain that they are suitable for transportation. A carrier who carries passengers is obligated to comply with a passenger's request for transportation as long as the vehicle is prepared and ready for passengers at the place of departure.

The provisions of the international agreement to carry merchandise and the international agreement to carry passengers and their luggage on railroads apply to the international transportation of passengers, objects and belongings on the railroads. The law of the Public Organization for the Railroads of the Iraqi Republic makes the organization responsible for the efficiency and maintenance of the rails. The organization shall be responsible for the railroad system and for railroad crossings as well as for damages that may be suffered by passengers or objects as a result of the failure to meet that responsibility.

Air transport includes carrying passengers and objects by air by a professional carrier. A surface transportation contract is considered an agreement according to which a carrier is bound for a fee to carry passengers or objects from one place to another on a ship or on a comparable sea-going vessel.

The law defined river transportation as transporting passengers or objects by launches, boats or manually operated skiffs, which may be towed or pushed, and which sail the rivers, streams, creeks, lakes and other waterways within Iraqi territory. The law required the Ministry of Transportation to issue the instructions required to regulate the affairs of river traffic.

The importance of issuing such a law makes it necessary that rules regulating maritime, river, air and surface shipping be laid down, considering the importance of these facilities in the process of the country's economic and social development. To apply the principles of the Legal System Reform Law it is essential that modern laws be written and that these laws interact with reality and with ambitions so they can contribute to the process of building the civilization of society.

The effective role that the transportation sector is playing in the current process of revolutionary development in the country, particularly with the distinguished geographical location of Iraq, makes that sector a connecting link by means of which people and objects are moved. Since transportation now is regulated by laws that were issued at different times and were dictated by private considerations, those private considerations made many particulars in those rules incoherent and conflicting. Those rules are incapable of staying in step with the given factors of society's new movement and its ambitions. That law comprises the rules that regulate the transportation of passengers and objects by land, by air, by sea and on the river inside the country and abroad. The provisions of the law are the same when the complaint is the same; these provisions differ depending upon each kind of transportation.

The aim of the law was to establish a fair balance between the obligations that parties to a transportation agreement have to each other. The aim of the law was to make the legal relationship prevail over a contractual relationship. This is due to the belief that the state has a duty to protect the roads in a contractual relationship and to monitor legal relationships.

The provisions of the law provided for the protection of citizen's lives and possessions and for the safety of objects owned by the state or by individuals.

The law affirmed the guarantee that the socialist sector would lead and direct transportation activity. The provisions of the law sought to regulate transportation to ensure that the best services are provided and to help in achieving the requirements of national development plans.

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CSO: 4404/327

FEMALE SOLDIERS EXPLAIN ROLE IN ARMY

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 5 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Sana' Khalil al-Naqqash: "Women in the Armed Forces: a Physician, a Nurse, a Combat Officer and an Airplane Navigator; How Do Men View Women in Combat? Female Fighters Say, 'We Found No Difficulty Dealing with Military Life;' With the First Woman Who Fought on Battlefields"]

[Text] The scene on the day the first class of female combat physicians graduated was a provocative one. It was a provocative scene to see an Iraqi woman in military uniform with a cap on her head.

The scene was even more provocative when a combat officer would salute that woman as he approached her, and she would respond with a sweet smile.

The scene raised many questions: have Iraqi women really gone to work for the armed forces?

Are Iraqi women prepared for that role? Has the time come for women to become officers or combat officers in the ranks of the armed forces?

Although some people regard women's service in the armed forces as normal, now that Iraqi women have entered all fields of work and production and are now holding numerous advanced positions in state institutions, in locations of public activity and in production facilities, some people who subscribe to a narrow-minded view, have regarded women's entry into the armed forces a step that goes beyond the stages of the time. They regard it as a step whose time has not yet come, even though and after the Revolution Iraqi women are providing an advanced model for the participation and effective contribution Arab women can make in bringing about social and economic progress.

Today, however, this matter appears to be quite ordinary. It is even more ordinary now since women have gone to work for the armed forces on a broad scale and since it is no longer unusual to see a female officer, a female non-commissioned officer or a combat officer in uniform and walking in the street. There is now a large number of women of different ranks in the armed forces. These women serve as physicians, engineers, combat officers in the air force and secretaries, and they do other work as well.

We interviewed a number of female officers and female combat officers in the



armed forces to let readers know who they are. The question that we took with us [to these interviews] was this: have women succeeded in the armed forces?

[Question] Have women succeeded as combat officers?

First, let us say that everybody gave the same answer to that question. Everybody said women had not succeeded as combat officers. However, that negative response is not enough [to settle the matter]. We must talk about a select group of our women who chose to work in the armed forces. We started at an air force base where we interviewed a number of combat officers who work on the base.

First Lt Mahdi said, "My strong desire to fly an airplane was the primary reason for my enlisting in the air force in 1979. When I joined the air force I was trained to fly airplanes in the first model course at the college. Afterwards, in 1982, I specialized in air traffic control."

[Question] What is air traffic control?

[Answer] Air traffic control means ensuring the safety of airplanes while they take off and while they land by communicating with the pilot of the airplane and providing him with accurate information.

It is my opinion that this discipline is suitable to women because of the deliberate manner in which women approach their work. There is no doubt that the fact that I joined the ranks of the armed forces has enabled me to do my part as a citizen trying to make her own distinguished effort in the course of the country and as a combat officer helping to defend the country and ward off attacks against it.

#### An Unexpected Surprise

First Lt Mahdi added, "When I first started working and I gave landing instructions to the pilot of an airplane so he could land the airplane, I found that the pilot was quite surprised. He repeated his call several times to make certain that it was a woman who was giving him directions while he was in the air. He was surprised by the fact that a woman would take such a job. After that the matter became quite ordinary; pilots hear a call once, and they follow my instructions."

[Question] Have you found any difficulty in your work?

[Answer] At first a few combat officers found it difficult to salute us, but when they were faced with the accomplished fact, they no longer have any objections to saluting us.

#### She Flew More than One Airplane

Lt Najdiyyah Jum'ah is a graduate of the first class of women in the air force. She said, "Women can perform all the duties that are appropriate for them in the army. They can do their part in this area fully. We learned a lot in college: we studied theoretical subjects, and we learned applied lessons. More than one kind of airplane was brought before us, and I became acquainted with numerous varieties of devices and sensitive and complex equipment. Significant additions

were made to the information we learned in college when we started real work. Thus, my colleagues and I were able to create for women a distinguished role in the control tower." Lt Najdiyyah Jum'ah added, "The first time I flew an airplane, I wanted to take part in combat missions which are entrusted to our male colleagues and fellow pilots. Women are as precise, as alert and as willing to carry out their duties as male pilots are who fly combat airplanes." We talked about difficult situations she had faced, and she said, "The weather was poor once; however, with the help of the pilot and the air traffic controller we were able to land four airplanes safely. It had been impossible to land them before because of poor weather conditions. We were thus able to overcome the situation."

#### An Interview in the Control Tower

Lt Najdiyyah escorted us to the control tower where we found Lt Jinan Isma'il working. She was talking on the telephone and watching the radar screen. Then she pushed a button. Our observation of Lt Jinan at work enabled us to take a close look at this precise work and to find out about it. Lt Jinan pointed to the map and said, "Locations, targets and distances are delineated on this map. Everything that has to do with the altitude of an airplane, air pressure or how matters are going for the airplanes, whether these are good or bad, would be known to us and delineated in front of us."

Jinan was previously a civil servant in one of the state offices. Because her desire to fly was overwhelming, she left her job, persuaded her husband and her family and joined the air force. She graduated in 1982 with the first class [of female graduates], and she enrolled with her female colleagues in more than one specialized course. She went on 15 sorties, and she has a strong desire to take part in combat.

#### A Salute to My Fellow-Fighters

Finally, Lt Jinan said, "On the occasion of Army Day I wish to congratulate my fellow combat officers who are stationed on the eastern borders of the Arab homeland to protect the country from aggression and safeguard the nation from the new, malicious anti-Arab expansion. A thousand salutes to all comrades fighting on the battlefields."

#### "I Took Part in the Battle of Honor!"

At the Aviation Center in al-Rashid Camp we met with Cpt Widad Husayn 'Abbas, a graduate of the College of Nursing who volunteered to serve in the armed forces 6 years ago.

She said, "When a person chooses his work on the basis of his own wishes and convictions, he develops total confidence in himself and in his ability to do the job. At first, some people may have thought that our experience was a failure. One of these people even told me this: 'You have taken a route in which success and perseverance are the most difficult things to achieve.' But we proved to everyone that the experiment was successful and that women can go into this field and prove themselves in it. Now the presence of women in the armed forces is a normal matter. The change involves not only female university graduates who would become officers; it also involves those who are in the ranks."

Cpt Widad Husayn 'Abbas had this to say about her work. "I am currently working as an instructor in the Training Wing. Two classes for officers, two classes for the ranks and a number of classes for physicians and commissioned medical and health professionals have graduated from this wing." This is what she said about the difficulties she faced: "Some people who are still influenced by vestiges of a backward view of women--and these are military men--did not accept the idea of being trained by a woman. However, steadfastness, perseverance, a strong personality, having good, scientific information and the ability to control and conduct a class made many of them admit that women can teach officers in the highest of ranks. Female officers must have special characteristics. They must have strong personalities; they must have an influential style; they must respect their students and command their respect; and they must be disciplined, committed and courageous."

"I Took Part in the Battle!"

[Question] Did you take part [in combat] on the battlefields?

[Answer] Iraqi women gave a great deal to the battles from their different positions. The fact that I am an officer in the armed forces [means] that I should have played an effective role and made a serious contribution to the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah. Therefore, I applied more than once for combat duty at advanced combat positions, but my application was turned down and I received a letter of thanks. But I was determined to make a real contribution, so I applied for work on the battlefields with a first aid unit in the central sector and in the district of Sar-e Pol-e Zahab in particular. I advanced to the front lines during the battle, and I stayed there for almost 2 months. That surprised all combat officers. These were the best days of my military service. I had no problems and no difficulties at all. In my opinion, women can work in any medical military capacity, and they can function competently.

"At the present time when I teach medical mobilization, which means how to evacuate and care for the wounded during a battle, I can cite actual examples and concrete facts [I gained] from my actual participation on the front."

"I've Liked the Military Ever Since I Was a Little Girl!"

First Lt Iyman Jamil Habib, who has a bachelor's degree in nursing, graduated from the College of Nursing in 1979. She volunteered in the armed forces immediately after graduating, and she enrolled in a military course for 3 months. She passed that course with a grade, "Good," and she also ranked first in target practice.

Iyman said, "I've been fond of military life ever since I was a little girl. When I saw men in military uniform going to their camps at dawn or coming home on leave, I would wonder if women would one day be able to lead the same life, have military careers and become combat officers like men. That question continued to haunt me and to bother me until the command announced the decision that women who volunteered for service in the ranks of the armed forces would be accepted. That was an opportunity for me, so I volunteered as soon as I graduated from the College of Nursing. At the present time I am teaching at the Vocational Training Center for Medical Care in the Military. I am teaching a freshman class theoretical and practical lessons in nursing, and I am having no difficulty dealing

with the soldiers who are students. They respond to me; we agree with each other; and we respect each other."

Finally she said, "On the occasion of the anniversary of our great army I wish to salute Iraqi women, those women who are distinguished among the women of the world by the sacrifices they offered and the notable contributions they made to support our just battle. With the contributions they made to support the battle of glory and honor, Iraqi women have restored the glory of immortal Arab women. May their contributions be greater, and may each victory achieved by our brave Iraqi army be a cause for celebration and pride for all Iraqis."

Lt Hana' Ti'ban Muhammad, who works in a laboratory at the Medical Center, said, "In my opinion women can work in all fields. Take me, for example. In my first week on the job after joining the armed forces, I was somewhat diffident, and I faced a few small difficulties, but as the days went by, the matter became ordinary. I am now teaching laboratory lessons to military students as a matter of routine."

#### From Physical Education to the Military

Lt Su'ad Jasim Ghazal is a graduate of the College of Physical Education. At the present time she is an officer in the Department of Political Guidance.

Lt Su'ad said, "There is a close relationship between military training and physical education. Therefore, I found no difficulty when I signed up for a training course after joining the army and when I became an officer of gymnastics in the air force. This was quite normal for me. I also found no difficulty in moving to work in political guidance because a physical education teacher is regarded as a social counselor as well as an educator. Therefore, it is not difficult for such a person to perform the task of political guidance.

This is what she had to say about her present work: "At the present time I give lectures to [officers] of different ranks and to combat officers to educate them and stir them up."

Lt Su'ad Jasim added, "Military life lets a person become accustomed to precision, care, discipline, organization and commitment. Women basically have these qualities. Therefore, they are suitable for work in the armed forces."

Finally, she said, "I hope the number of women in the army will increase. Although this wish of mine may make men angry because they would regard it as an invitation to women to encroach on their authorities, what I am saying is that I am calling upon women to volunteer in those areas that are suitable to their abilities."

#### With Angels of Mercy

We toured al-Rashid Military Hospital, and we saw for ourselves the intense efforts that are being made by male and female physicians who are combat officers. Their efforts to treat military patients and care for the wounded of our just battle are formidable, and they make intense efforts to provide what is required for their treatment. There we met with Dr Maysun Midhat Taha, a captain. She has been working in the hospital since her graduation from the College of



Medicine years ago. She was the first female student to receive a scholarship from the Ministry of Defense, and she was one of the top students in her class. She was also the first in her military training class. Cpt Maysun is married; she is the mother of two children; and she is as devoted to her work as she is to her family.

Cpt Maysun spoke about her motives for joining the military corps and said, "Military service means making sacrifices and doing one's duty; it means discipline and commitment. A good soldier is a person who is committed. It is for this reason that I came to like military life, and that eventually became a consuming feeling. The major contribution that was made by our brave army became clear to me in the participation of our armed forces in the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah and in the major sacrifices they made for the homeland. It is this that motivates me to give more of myself; this is what renews my love for the work I do; this is what is behind the exceptional energy I put into my work." Cpt Maysun Midhat added, "At first I worked in several military hospitals, such as the air force hospital, and in other places. During that time I offered my services to combat officers who needed this humanitarian service." Dr Maysun said that women have to encourage their husbands, brothers and sons to be dedicated to the country and to preserve its dear soil. "We have to do our best to achieve victory and preserve the spirit of victory. Everything women do to support combat officers, whether they do it at work, in the home or in any other location, is only part of their duty to the country."

At the end of our meeting with her she said, "On the occasion of the day that is dedicated to our honorable army I wish to offer my fellow-fighters in the armed forces and all Iraqis my sincere affectionate congratulations in appreciation for the spirit with which they have been defending the precious land of our country."

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## BRIEFS

WINTER AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT--The agencies of the General Agricultural and Land Reform Authority and the peasants of al-Sulaymaniyah Governorate have carried out 74 percent of the agricultural plan for the current winter season in the governorate. The plan has the goal of cultivating 1,042,696 donums with various winter crops. So far, 772,268 donums of land in the socialist and private sectors have been farmed; of this 762,927 donums have been planted with wheat and barley, 3,555 donums with dry onions, 906 donums with lentils, 396 donums with garlic and fenugreek, and 2,484 donums with winter vegetables. In another area, the total amounts loaned to peasant farmers by agricultural cooperative societies in the governorate this year came to 53,170 dinars. The amounts of these loans covered loans to buy summer and winter equipment, agricultural machinery and accessories and livestock. In addition, the sum of 205,000 dinars have been spent outside the plan to buy five poultry chambers in the Kani Bankah area for members of the Buland agricultural society. The General Agriculture and Land Reclamation Authority in the governorate has also made contracts with 425 peasant families to use an area of 7,079 donums of farmland. Thus, this authority has made contracts so far with 4,674 peasant families to use 102,758 donums of farmland in the various areas of the governorate. /Text/ /Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Dec 83 p 6/ 11887

CSO: 4404/314

SAWALIAH INTERVIEW ON PROPOSED DISBANDING OF VILLAGE LEAGUES FEDERATION

JN021219 Jerusalem in Arabic to the Arab World 1540 GMT 1 Mar 84

[From "With the Events" program]

[Text] Riyad al-Khatib, head of the Ramallah Village League, suggested today that the West Bank Village Leagues Federation be dissolved, because the leagues federation is fumbling politically and is not adhering to its basic law. Here is a report on this subject, which has been disclosed for the first time, by Emile Khaz'al:

Riyad al-Khatib's proposal surprised many people, because the village leagues federation has concentrated its efforts in the past months on political affairs, especially after the resumption of parliamentary life in Jordan. This change can be explained by the civilian administration's stand on the village leagues, a stand which calls for these leagues to adhere to their basic objective--developing the villages in the West Bank.

This evening we asked Jawdat Sawalihah, deputy head of the village leagues federation, to comment on al-Khatib's proposal.

[Begin recording Jawdat Sawalihah] We established the village leagues federation in order to coordinate between the leagues. As a development movement, these leagues have many projects to implement. Thus, we will waste time and money. We can coordinate without the existence of federation. As a development movement, regulations of the leagues and village societies forbid any political activities. A person who is responsible for developing the villages cannot interfere in political matters. The head of a village council or municipal council must serve the citizens.

[Emile Khaz'al] Do I understand that you support dissolving the federation?

[Sawalihah] Of course. When I was asked to become head of the federation, I said that I have to serve 50 villages in Nabulus. I cannot assume two posts--the federation, and serving and developing Nabulus villages. I preferred to serve Nabulus villages.

[Khaz'al] Is there a connection between Riyad al-Khatib's proposal and the authorities' decision to ban the village leagues from political activities?

[Sawalihah] There is no political ban. Everybody has his own political opinion. As a development movement, it cannot deal with political activities. If I deal with political activities, I will obstruct and neglect my mission. I will also live in a vacuum, because we live in a political vacuum in the Middle East. We must deal with what is most important. Our villages need services. We must achieve our objectives.

[Khaz'al] Do you mean that this will render the political stands, the federation's stands, and your opinions that have been published in the AL-MIR'AH newspaper meaningless?

[Sawalihah] I have not rendered these stands meaningless. I have a political opinion. I call for peaceful coexistence. I call for solving the Palestine cause on the basis of direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Jews. I do not behave as a political party, but as an individual who has a viewpoint.

[Khaz'al] Do I understand that you will decide to dissolve the federation on Monday?

[Sawalihah] This is merely a viewpoint. Perhaps this viewpoint will be adopted, and perhaps not. Everybody has his own viewpoint.

[Khaz'al] Thank you, Abu Mahir. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/187

JERUSALEM ARABIC INTERVIEWS W. BANK VILLAGE LEAGUE HEADS

JN061444 Jerusalem in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Text] Tahsin Mansur, official spokesman of the Village League Federation in the West Bank, announced a short while ago that the village league heads [a] plan to close the federation's offices in Ramallah. Our correspondent Salim al-Jallud gives us this detailed report:

[Begin recording] A meeting was held this evening at the offices of the Tulkarm District Village League attended by Jawdat Sawalihah, acting head of the Village League Federation in the West Bank district, and Tahsin Mansur, head of the Tulkarm District Village League and official spokesman of the federation. After this meeting, Mansur announced that the heads of the village leagues in the West Bank intend to close the federation's offices in Ramallah because they constitute a financial and administrative burden on the leagues. He added that the federation will continue to exist and that the meetings of the village league heads will be held periodically as necessary. "With the Events" microphone met this evening with Sawalihah and Mansur.

[Al-Jallad] Jawdat Sawalihah, what are the reasons that made the village leagues decide now to close the federation's offices in Ramallah?

[Sawalihah] We in the federation's offices believe that much time and money is wasted. Had we spent this time and money in developing the villages, we would have benefited more than the existence of such a federation.

[Al-Jallad] Jawdat, does this not affect the course of the village league movement in the West Bank?

[Sawalihah] On the contrary, this will strengthen the village league movement. When I go to the other village league heads and show them that I carried out water projects in six villages, this will encourage them to call for the development and strengthening of these leagues.

[Al-Jallad] Is it true that the Civilian Administration has banned you from politics?

[Sawalihah] First of all, the Civilian Administration has not banned us from politics. Article six of the village league by-laws bans any village league or

society from engaging in politics. Still, the Village League Federation has pursued a clear political line with always calls for ending the state of war between the Arabs and Jews, raising the banner of peace, giving all the peoples of the region their legitimate rights, and repudiating terrorism in all its forms by any side. Our line also calls for direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Jews. Furthermore, we the Palestinian Arabs have good relations with Jordan and we are concerned about maintaining these relations with Jordan and the rest of the Arab peoples.

[Al-Jallad] Thank you, Jawdat. Tahsin, I have learned that the Village League Federation will hold a meeting on Saturday. What subjects will you discuss at this meeting?

[Mansur] The meeting will discuss the closure of the federation's present offices, village league projects in the West Bank, the preparation of the budgets of the various village leagues, reorganization of the employees' cadre so that it conforms to the government cadre, and the relationship between the citizen and the authority and between the citizen and the league.

[Al-Jallad] Tahsin, the village league heads held a seminar recently at Massada Hotel in Arad. You were visited there by a large number of officials. What is your impression from your meetings with these officials?

[Mansur] Actually, I would like to thank all the officials who attended this meeting especially Binyamin Ben Eli'ezer, coordinator of the administered areas, the acting head of the Civilian Administration the administrative governors, the Interior Ministry officials, and Dr (Shaha). Our main impression is that there is complete and continuous support for the village leagues and their projects. I also felt the desire of the officials in the Civilian Administration and in the Israeli Government to back the leagues and their projects, the progress of the villages, and the creation of good relations between the villages and their leagues and between the inhabitants and the authority. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/187



VILLAGE LEAGUE OFFICIAL MAKES STATEMENT

JN262125 Jerusalem in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 26 Feb 84

[Text] In an interview with our correspondent, Jamil Falah al-'Amlah, the head of the Village Leagues in Hebron said that Jordan has begun to change its positions toward the village leagues in the West Bank. He also called on the Israeli authorities not to take any steps for the time being toward the bus station and the vegetable market in Hebron.

The first question posed by our correspondent 'Umar Zaydani to the head of the Village Leagues in Hebron focused on his recent tour of the United States and Europe and his meeting with Arab and European figures there.

[Begin recording] [Jamil Falah al-'Amlah] The aim of my visit to the United States and Europe was to explain the development of the village leagues and its views on the political efforts aimed at settling the Palestinian question through peaceful means, and on negotiations between the Arabs and Israel. We explained this idea to the European and Arab officials whom I met there.

['Umar Zaydani] who were the Arab officials you met in Europe?

[Al-'Amlah] I met with a number of Arab officials, and I do not want to name these officials.

[Zaydani] Did the Arab and European officials show any concern with the village leagues' position on the basis of your explanations?

[Al-'Amlah] This is true. They understood the leagues' position. They were not aware of the leagues' actual plan, but following our explanations, they understood that position. We hope that clearer, public meetings will take place between us and the Arab officials in the near future.

[Zaydani] Did the resumption of the Jordanian House of Representatives' work and the presence of West Bank representatives in the House of Representatives have any effect on the village leagues' position?

[Al-'Amlah] This has not affected the village leagues' position because the village leagues call for a Jordanian-Palestinian cohesion, and we hope that this step will realize peace between the Arabs and Israel. The leagues will not be

affected by this step because it calls for Jordanian participation in negotiations and for solving the Palestinian cause through peaceful means and negotiations between the Arabs and Israel.

[Zaydani] It is known that Jordanian television or the Jordanian media used to criticize the village leagues. How are your relations with Jordan? Are there any contacts?

[Al-'Amlah] This is true. The Jordanian papers and media commented on the village leagues' position in the past. But new facts have appeared. Jordan now understands the leagues' real role; that the leagues appeal to the king to enter negotiations; and that the leagues repeatedly say that the West Bank and the East Bank are one family. On this basis, the Jordanian Government has begun to understand this situation. We hope that a meeting will take place between us and the Jordanian officials in Amman in the near future. The delegations that went to Amman congratulate Prime Minister Ahmad 'Ubaydat included village league members and mayors belonging to the leagues. They were accorded a warm reception in Amman. This is evidence of the new Jordanian position.

[Zaydani] When will a new head of the village leagues be elected? Why has a head of the village leagues not yet been appointed?

[Al-'Amlah] In fact, it would be the head of the union because every league has a leader. I personally prefer that we [heads of the village leagues] periodically assume the presidency of the village leagues union in the West Bank. We hope that a head of the union will be elected in the near future, and that the union will act in accordance with the plan that was drawn up for it.

[Zaydani] The problems of the bus station and the old vegetable market preoccupies Hebron public opinion. Do the village leagues have a definite position toward this problem?

[Al-'Amlah] The village leagues' position is not different from that of any individual in Hebron. The leagues, like any individual in Hebron, are asking the Israeli authorities and the ruling authorities not to take any measures, because the bus station in Hebron is a complicated issue that might be solved in the future. There are similar issues to be settled. When these problems are resolved, the bus station problem should also be resolved. There are Arab properties in the area. We hope that the authorities will return the bus station to their owners so that justice prevails between the Arabs and the Jews.

CSO: 4400/187

## BRIEFS

WEST BANK EXPORTS TO JORDAN--The Civilian Administration has lowered the levies on the export of agricultural produce to Jordan, and Jordan has announced that it would purchase tomatoes from Judaea and Samaria farmers at a reduced price, for industrial purposes. Our correspondent Arye Gus reports that due to the weather, large vegetable surpluses have piled up in the territories, and over the past few weeks approximately 50 tons of vegetables have crossed the Jordan River bridges every day. In order to make exports to Jordan easier, the Civilian Administration has cancelled the levies on the exports of tomatoes and eggplant to Jordan, and has reduced the levies on other agricultural produce. [Text] [TA261330 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 26 Feb 84]

CSO: 4400/187

## CONSTRUCTION SECTOR MARKED BY UPTURN, INTENSE COMPETITION

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 31 Jan 84 p 13

[Text] The construction sector in Kuwait is still suffering from stagnation and production rates below those achieved at the peak of the construction boom. However, despite the situation of the local economy, government projects and private sector institutions are still providing a good opportunity for the sector consisting of the contracting companies and the construction materials industries, which boomed along with economic growth in Kuwait. However, the cooling of the boom and the limited character of the projects (following the completion of much of the country's infrastructure) are giving rise to intense competition. Moreover, the entry of the Asian companies in force by means of local agents has produced sharp criticism by the local contracting companies.

Perhaps the crisis to which the private sector has been exposed in the area of housing construction due to the Suqal-Manakh crisis and its effect on local liquidity has not had the same effect on the projects executed by the government in the field of public works and the housing projects belonging to the official agencies. These projects still provide important opportunities for local and foreign contracting companies, as well as for numerous local construction materials industries, which have turned more and more to exporting their surplus to neighboring markets during the period of resurgence in the Iraqi market.

## Moderate Activity

Despite that, the dominant opinion seems to be that the phase prior to the 1982 crisis will not return soon, while activity will stay moderate and cautious in the construction sector. This is especially true because many of the bigger infrastructure projects (projects for roads, government buildings, hospitals, etc.) have either been completed or are in the final stages of construction. The contraction of the projects market in Kuwait has intensified the competition among dozens of international contracting companies that wish to acquire new projects. The basic source of these projects now consists of the oil sector and the ministries, which have drawn up programs calling for the construction of many installations and utilities. In addition, there are projects from the electricity sector.

The construction sector has not been spared the effects of the contraction in government spending and the fall in oil revenues. Rather, these and other

factors have had a direct effect on the sector, since its rates of growth depend on the volume of government spending and locally available liquidity, which stimulates developmental activity in the private sector. For the contracting sector, 1983 was a year of waiting and continued contraction in government spending. Moreover, events in the region played a role in the wave of stagnation, although the basic cause consisted of the effects of the Suqal-Manakh crisis, which has still not been solved.

A local contractor had this to say: "The positive aspect of the movement of the market is that the volume of government biddings has not fallen as it was expected to. Despite the decline in the volume of work in the market, the rate at which it has stabilized is enough to keep the market busy."

Other sources confirmed that construction activity does not have to be a reflection of the decline in the budget. One local contractor thinks that the situation in the market might be difficult for local contractors, and even for foreign contractors working in Kuwait, for several years. Some might see in the decline in the volume of bidding an indication of the beginning of the first stage of the decline in the importance of the contracting sector with respect to the local economy. On this basis, one can say that the growth of the construction industry inevitably must slow down a great deal, even if oil production were to remain at the same level. The contractor added that he did not expect bankruptcies to occur among the big companies, because they will continue to have enough work, while the small firms might turn to maintenance work. In the case of foreign contractors, instead of being contracted to complete six projects in one year, they will have one or two at the most.

The contractors themselves think that the decline in the volume of local work has been going on since the start of 1981. However, the volume of work obtained by local companies in the Iraqi market has made up for the saturated situation in the local market. According to the opinion of this group, the heralds of contraction began to appear clearly when the volume of projects on the Iraqi market fell. These projects were one of the prime causes of the expansion in the foreign operations of local companies and the boom witnessed by the local contracting sector prior to 1981.

Some big contractors think that their local market share has been falling, since their expansion led to an increase in the cost of technical staff and labor. Some big contractors have started to place a lower limit on the value of any bid they will enter (no less than 3 million dinars). Others are willing to look at small bids if a small project has a large work site. Therefore, the solution for some big companies is to enter neighboring markets.

The increasing tendency to hire Asian firms for ordinary projects via their agents is weakening the total technical capacity of the local sector. It is also decreasing the number of opportunities for the local construction sector in foreign markets in periods when the demand for their services in the local market is small. Perhaps opportunities to export the capabilities of the construction sector to markets where profit margins are relatively high and the factors making for competition are relatively few will provide local companies with a perfect opportunity to develop the foundations of their success.



## KUWAIT

### BRIEFS

OIL SALE CONTRACT--Kuwait, 4 Mar (WAKH)--Kuwait will sell 15,000 barrels of crude oil daily for a period of one year to Kashima Oil Company of Japan. Kuwait Petroleum Corporation signed the contract under normal oil trade conditions Thursday. The official price of Kuwait crude is now set at \$27.30 a barrel, with a production ceiling of 1.05 million barrels a day in conformity with the pricing system fixed by OPEC. [Text] [GF050604 Manama WAKH in English 1550 GMT 4 Mar 84]

CSO: 4400/193

## LEBANON

### SHI'ITE LEADER BIRRI DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 45, 18 Feb 84 pp 61-62

[Interview with Nabih Birri, head of Shi'ite Amal Movement, by Ibrahim 'Awwadah: "The War Has Economic Causes, and Fundamental Changes Are Required"; in Beirut, date not specified]

[Text] Although the Amal movement is a socio-economic movement, as its leader, Nabih Birri, has affirmed, the economic views of Nabih Birri are still relatively unknown. The positions of which the head of Amal has informed the Lebanese people and Arab public opinion are political stands empty of any notable economic content.

AL-TADAMUN wanted to uncover the other side of the head of Amal, that is, the side that reflects his social and economic thought and goals. The magazine held a long and frank interview with him on this subject. It was the first of its kind. During the interview, Birri talked about the current economic situation in Lebanon and gave the position of the Amal movement on proposed economic changes. Here is the interview:

[Question] During the first session of the Lebanese national dialogue conference at Geneva, only purely political issues were discussed. Thus, economic matters were neglected, although economics and politics are inseparable in the modern age. Do you not think that economic reform requires a special dialogue of its own?

[Answer] In principle, we are not a military movement. We are a "movement of the dispossessed." The source and roots of this deprivation are economic and social. Let me remind you that when the movement of the dispossessed began under the leadership of His Eminence Imam Musa al-Sadr, it had 20 demands, 18 of which were economic and social (tobacco projects, citrus fruits in the south and in Tripoli, a more just distribution of natural resources, irrigation projects, etc). It seems that security worries, the fighting, and the Israeli invasion in particular have obscured the economic crisis the country is experiencing. They have made it seem less important than the security situation, although it actually takes precedence. I am not exaggerating when I say that one of the causes of the Lebanese crisis--indeed, it is a very important, no, it is the most important cause--has been the feeling of some that large sections of the population want to be liberated

from the deprivation and economic nightmare under which they have been suffering since the pre-independence period. The problem persisted during the independence period and right up to the outbreak of discord in Lebanon. Every crisis in the world requires one to search for its economic and social roots. This is especially true in a country like Lebanon, in which one group of less than 7 percent of the population has been accustomed to control the destiny of an ancient and large people. Therefore, when we deal with that is happening today, we ought to look at both sides. The first thing that ought to enjoy our consideration is the economic situation, which I cannot describe as being in decline, since it is below zero.

The country is in a state of bankruptcy. I can offer solid evidence of that, including the following: the Israeli economic invasion against our products, the halting of industry as a result of competition and the security situation, the trading in dollars and its effect on the situation of the pound, the narrow export horizon for our products, especially our agricultural goods, such as citrus and other fruits, the destruction of factories and industrial installations, the labor situation in terms of unemployment, etc, the rising cost of living, rising prices, and the housing crisis.

The second aspect of our activity must be oriented toward transforming the public budget into a budget based on production and a more just distribution of the national income. We cannot accept the current situation, in which the public budget has been changed into a military budget. More than two-thirds of the budget has come to be spent on military matters. Consequently, from an economic point of view, and without considering the situation from a purely political standpoint, this spending contributes nothing to the national income.

These matters confirm the extent of the bankrupt situation we are experiencing. Consequently, they indicate that the economic situation in Lebanon is not at all better than the security and political situation. Rather, I am afraid I must say that even if we could rescue Lebanon from the political and security situation in which it is caught, the economic situation would still require special consideration. I do not know how that could be achieved achieved.

[Question] Now that you have mentioned these flaws and dangers from which the Lebanese economy is suffering, what solutions are required, in your opinion, to save the situation?

[Answer] If the stability and reconciliation we desire are achieved, the state will have to intervene in some matters that today are in the hands of the free economy, in the absolute sense of the word. From now on, it will be impossible to leave these things as they are, especially in the stage following the initial reconciliation. The economy must be directed in an absolute fashion, but without proscribing individual initiative, the requirements of which must be preserved. Let me sum up here some of the things that are required:

We must apply the principle of progressive taxation quickly and precisely. A revolutionary operation must be undertaken on the level of industry and agriculture, in addition to giant steps in the tourism sector. We must limit the burden of armaments and turn away from the policy of power. Consequently, the war effort must be turned into a productive effort. In many "developing" countries, the army is used for development and reform projects.

[Question] Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israel has been trying to isolate southern Lebanon from the other parts of the country. In this effort, its primary goal is economic. What danger is posed by Israel's economic invasion of the south? What has the Lebanese state done to confront this invasion? Finally, what has the Amal movement done?

[Answer] The state has done nothing on this level. There is a lot of evidence for this. Take the matter of citrus fruits and tobacco, the two principal crops in the south. They form the means of subsistence for the majority of the population of the south. The citrus harvests have not been distributed. The tobacco issue is very serious, since we have found out that the state still has not prepared the storehouses for receiving the crop. Moreover, it is still using low prices, despite the high cost of labor.

We in the Amal movement have submitted an official request to the general secretariat of the League of Arab States concerning the citrus crop in the south. We have made a visit to Syria in order to discuss the same subject.

We have taken a position on the tobacco crop and now we are waiting for the response. Otherwise, we will take measures. We submitted a memorandum to the Islamic Conference suggesting that a fund be set up to support the south. However, the results have not been encouraging. They do not meet the least of the aspirations of the southerners. In general, the economy in southern Lebanon is tied to the Lebanese liberation movement in more than one way. That is, the tie is not merely economic. We will continue to act, and we will not despair, so that we can end the economic, social, and political deceit being practiced against southern Lebanon and its population. We will do so on the basis of our national, social and economic concept, which rejects submitting to the Israeli enemy and abandoning our Lebanese and Arab identity, no matter what the sacrifices.

12224  
CSO: 4404/342

# OPPOSITION REVEALS PLIGHT OF SYRIA'S SCHOOLS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 320, 9 Jan 84 pp 52-54

[Article adapted from a report prepared by the Association of Liberal Syrian Journalists: "A Report on the Plight of Education in Syria: Incidents, Facts, Figures and Names"]

[Text] On the last day of the massacre in Hamah, 1,437 teachers lost their lives; 1,212 teachers are now languishing in prisons and are being subjected to the worst kinds of torture.

Seven hundred and fifteen teachers were transferred to other jobs that have nothing to do with their specialization: they've been transferred to positions in municipalities and coroners' offices.

Education in Syria has reached the point of disaster. Students at all levels as well as teachers and instructors are frustrated emotionally as a result of poor educational conditions. The onset of this disaster may be found in reviewing the conditions of teachers and instructors. If we were to overlook temporarily the massacres of teachers and the wholesale destruction of education, we would find that teachers in Syria today are functioning under financial, emotional and educational restrictions and they've reached the end of their rope. Teachers moonlight after leaving school so they can meet the essential needs of their children because the cost of living is so high. Teachers are morally restricted by the government inside the school and outside its walls. They are restricted in what they teach because they are forced to teach unsound, weak, distorted, anti-Arab courses that contradict their heartfelt convictions and their Islamic and Arab values.

## Associate Teachers: a Major Predicament

The problem of associate teachers is one of the intractable crises in education since the number of actual teachers has been declining. An associate teacher is someone who has a public secondary school certificate or an intermediate preparatory school certificate. An associate teacher is thus not qualified to teach; and it is for this reason that we see the following phenomena:

1. A few school principals discriminate between associate teachers and actual teachers. This has a negative effect on the mental attitude of associate teachers.



2. Associate teachers are constantly being threatened with dismissal. Therefore, they always feel insecure as though they were a building with cracks. They don't know when the wind will blow and demolish and tear down the structure.

3. Salaries of associate teachers are not disbursed regularly. This has an effect on associate teachers and their families.

4. When associate teachers get tenure, they are placed in lower positions and are paid lower salaries than actual teachers.

5. The country is suffering from the fact that the number of private teachers' training institutes is small.

#### Standards Deteriorating at Teachers' Institutes

Standards at existing institutes are deteriorating. What made matters worse was how much of a boost students' grades were getting at the end of the academic year. This increased the level of frustration among students and caused training standards to decline.

The teacher shortage is getting worse as the ratio of unqualified substitute teachers rises at the expense of actual teachers. [We know that matters are getting worse] when we learn that there are, for example, 2,200 substitute teachers in the Province of al-Hasakah and that 500 of them have a middle school certificate. These substitute teachers teach at the most difficult stage of instruction: the first and second primary grades. If they are asked to teach other classes, they can't. They are completely unable to solve math problems, for example, for the last three primary classes. This has a negative effect on the educational process, and on generations of youngsters who leave school not knowing how to write their names.

#### The Problem of Schools with a Single Teacher

There is another problem besides all that. It is the problem of a single-teacher school. In such schools teachers serve as principals, teachers for all classes in the school, custodians and the ones who follow up on school matters in the department of education and elsewhere. Briefly, these teachers are the ones who take over everything that happens in a primary school. What is sad is the fact that the size of these single-teacher schools is large and they are getting larger every day. There are, for example:

--133 single-teacher schools in the district of al-Hasakah.

--113 single-teacher schools in the district of al-Qamishli.

--62 single-teacher schools in the district of al-Malkiyah [or Dayrik].

--54 single-teacher schools in the district of Ra's al-'Ayn.

#### A Bitter Fact in Figures

This bitter tragedy goes on. Evidence of its bitterness lies in the following:

the Province of al-Raqqah needs 100 instructors and 1,200 teachers, but the Ministry of Education appointed 20 teachers only, and only 2 of them reported to the schools. When the Department of Education sought the assistance of primary school teachers instead of instructors, four of those teachers stayed on, but they declined to continue working in the village school because they were unable to get bread, yes bread!

In addition, young people have turned away from the teaching profession for many reasons including low salaries. Teachers are not able to accept bribes, which have become an accepted practice in our society, to make up for the financial shortage from which they suffer. The result of the survey that was conducted by the Executive Office of the Teachers' Union in which 4,000 forms were distributed to instructors showed that 94 percent do not like the teaching profession. The percentage of those who chose the teaching profession for themselves and their children in the future was only one percent of those surveyed.

In addition, there are scores of hundreds of teachers and instructors who left the country fleeing with their lives and their honor from the terror of the regime which by 28 February 1982, the last day of the Hamah massacre that lasted 1 month, had killed 1,436 teachers and instructors. This regime did strike down hundreds of teachers in the massacres of Hamah, Aleppo and Jisr Ash Shughur. People are still being killed in the desert camps of Tudmur where the wholesale destruction of educators is still going on. The regime did not hesitate in killing female teachers and instructors. News of the massacres of Hamah are not that far away from us. In Hamah, for example, teacher Fahimah 'Abd-al-Qadir Mu'ti, who is 62 years old and who spent her life teaching, was killed because she refused to give soldiers the golden bracelets she owned. Teacher Maysun 'Ayyash in the district of al-Dibaghah in Hamah was also killed for the same reason. There are many examples like these two. The book, "Hamah, Ma'sah al-'Asr [Hamah, the Tragedy of the Age] and the book, "Majzarah Hamah" [The Hamah Massacre], contain more details about the names of teachers and instructors who were killed by the enemy of education, the regime of Hafiz al-Asad, in this brutal massacre. The two books contain extensive details about the names of schools and educational institutes that were destroyed by his brutal soldiers in this barbaric massacre that reminds one of what Hulagu did when he destroyed Baghdad and threw books into the Tigris River until the color of the water changed.

There are now 1,212 male and female teachers and educators languishing in prison and suffering the worst kinds of torture. The regime has continued its terror against them, dismissing 335 of them from service and transferring 715 skillful and competent teachers and educators to positions that have nothing to do with their areas of specialization. They were transferred to positions in municipalities, in coroners' offices, in museums, in homes for the handicapped and elsewhere.

#### Reasons for Declining Standards among Primary School Students

It is here that the tragedy of the country's students grows. These students have been neglected from the earliest grades in school until they reached the university. They make spelling mistakes and grammar mistakes, as the newspaper, TISHRIN, admitted in its 17 July 1983 issue. In the 19 July 1983 issue the newspaper admitted that instruction in the Arabic language had declined and that

first grade students, second grade students and all primary school students are automatically promoted to the next grade. As students advance from one class to another, their academic weaknesses keep growing. Therefore, the percentage of students who pass the middle preparatory school certificate and the secondary school certificate has declined. There are numerous reasons for this decline, among which is the [academic] weakness that has its roots in the primary stage of education. Another reason is the absence of teachers and instructors: some left the country fleeing for their lives and their dignity; some are now in prison, or they have been killed. The more our students are pushed by the regime into a lack of discipline and indifference, the closer they are brought to the government's party. Therefore, all those who cheat in examinations and leak answers to students who are wanted in the party organization are enlisted by the party. A crime is thus committed against students whose futures are wasted. In addition, students spend only half a day at school because many schools have been turned into prisons and detention camps, information centers or quarters for defense companies. Some schools were destroyed as was the case in the city of Hamah where more than 34 schools and institutes were demolished in February 1982.

#### Examples of the Authority's Neglect of Education

It is enough to indicate here that we do not see in the primary stage of education that care which could realize for children an integrated and a balanced physical, emotional, social and moral growth. It is also enough to indicate that school administrations were turned over to people who were not worthy of that trust and that educational guidance (inspection) was being neglected and ignored. We also refer to the absence of any manual work by students, work which develops their talents and serves the local environment. School libraries and laboratories are neglected, and modern technology is absent from instruction and from the administration. Where are the video devices and where are the educational movies? Where is the computer the government purchased from a French firm? But the government bought that computer not to serve education, but rather to serve terrorism since this device makes up the black list; the names of half a million citizens can be entered all at once into that device.

It is also enough to indicate that schools face a critical situation regarding securing books and places for students. Sanitary conditions in most rural schools and potable water are not available. Certain [educational] tools are not available, and centers for manufacturing those tools are not being established. There are no incentives.

Examinations for preparatory and secondary school certificates show a considerable decline in students' standards in all subjects: the Arabic language, mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry and other subjects. It is here that the generous and destructive assistance begins, and students are given bonus grades to raise the declining percentage of students who pass the examinations. Some of these bonus grades are almost doubled, and students are promoted to a higher class when they should be demoted. It is in this destructive fashion that students finish secondary school; they go to the university with perhaps little or no knowledge of reading and writing, as the newspaper TISHRIN reported in its issue of 24 August 1983. Nevertheless, these students pass in the university and graduate because university instructors are not required to take off marks for penmanship and spelling when they cannot test them on reading! And thus

when one tries to talk about education in Syria, one finds oneself faced with a flood of shortcomings, flaws and sorrows, or rather, treason and conspiracy.

#### The Decline of Educational Standards in the University

Let's go back to university education where chaos and the regime's partisanship have the upper hand. Courses of study at the university are now concerned with quantity at the expense of quality. This is what the regime's newspaper, TISHRIN, admitted. Students in the Arabic Language College and in the English Language College are having a great deal of difficulty finding seats at lectures. As days go by, students will become tired of looking for seats, and they will study the curriculum without going to class. This situation is being aggravated by the fact that the lectures are not consecutive; they are rather far apart and given at random. In addition, there is a crisis in transportation, and many students spend many hours every day commuting to their colleges. But that is not where the disaster ends. Arabic language, geography, history and philosophy students graduate from college and find no jobs after having spent the best years of their lives leading a life of conspicuous or hidden unemployment. Those who are fortunate manage to find work in a ministry other than the Ministry of Education after paying bribes, losing their self respect and joining the party. It may be appropriate here to mention an incident that all Syrians saw on television while the weekly contest program was being broadcast. That program is prepared and produced by Nadhir 'Aqil. That particular episode was being broadcast from the province of Dar'a. When one of the contestants stepped in front of the camera, the announcer asked him what his name was and what his educational qualifications were. The contestant said that he was a graduate of the College of Management and Economics. The announcer then asked the contestant where he worked, and the young contestant became flustered and pulled the announcer by the hand to the side of the stage. There he whispered a few words in his ear, and the announcer then exclaimed in an audible voice, "You say you work in intelligence? Are you ashamed of that?"

Sounds of laughter filled the auditorium.

This is in spite of the fact that many districts have a shortage of teachers for such subjects. The Province of al-Hasakah, for example, has a shortage of Arabic language teachers. The province needs about 60 teachers of Arabic and also about the same number of English language teachers. At the present time this shortage is being met by opportunists who are not specialists.

In its issue of 9 July 1983 the newspaper, AL-THAWRAH wondered why some graduates find employment and others do not when all these graduates studied together, may have sat on the same bench and may have graduated at the same time? The newspaper wondered why is it that the unemployed graduate may be superior to the fortunate one who was appointed in the Ministry of Education? The answer to that is known to all citizens: discrimination among the citizens of one nation is a matter of strategy that is being practiced at the expense of the future of generations.

We also mention the fact that the [academic] weakness of most university students has become normal for them, and it is on that basis that they neither protest nor make any demands as long as the matter is normal. This is no secret to the faculty, the best of whom have been executed and mutilated. Another group of



university teachers were also fired and transferred. In 1979 this regime perpetrated the wholesale destruction of university education. The regime also does not encourage in the universities of the country scientific research that would serve the country's material world and future. Scientific research at universities is based on the notion that universities are centers from which thought and culture radiate; they are scientific platforms that work on developing generations in the interest of building the future. Scholarships for specialized studies are also restricted to members of al-Asad's sect and to his lackeys even though they may be the least educated [of the candidates for such scholarships].

#### Students in Syria: Constant Worry

This is how Syrian students live: they are worried and fearful. And how can they not worry when the regime killed 1,639 of their fellow students in massacres at Hamah, Aleppo, Jisr al-Shughur and Tudmur, where the massacres are continuing? How can Syrian students not worry and not feel frustrated when the regime is responsible for the absence of 1,463 students who are in jail? How can Syrian students not feel fearful and sorrowful when thousands of orphaned students, or rather scores of thousands of students, lost their fathers and mothers and even all members of their families in modern blood baths that are unprecedented in history?

It is for these and other grievous reasons that the school drop-out rate has risen, starting with primary school and continuing in the university. Those students are being forced to drop out of school to support themselves and their surviving young brothers and sisters. They are supporting themselves and their siblings under a [system] of very high prices where the living one earns is a poor one tinged with blood and with the sweat of one's brow.

#### The Tragedy of Technical and Intermediate Institutes

The condition that technical and middle institutes have reached is one whose consequences one cannot be grateful for. Although many years have gone by since most of them were established, these institutes are collapsing. That condition may be summarized as follows:

1. The percentage of students who failed in the Teachers' Training Institute is 65 percent even though the authorities granted every student 39 bonus points (AL-THAWRAH, 6 August 1983).
2. Only 28 percent of the staff of technical institutes are available.
3. Sixty-one percent of all teachers have never been appointed to their positions or they left work or emigrated because of the terrorist reasons we mentioned previously.
4. At 54 percent of these institutes lecturers teach 70 percent of the classes.
5. The number of scholarships for specialized studies for these institutes is small and restricted to those who belong to al-Asad's sect.
6. There isn't a single standard textbook for a single discipline. In fact, every teacher chooses the sources he likes.



7. There are 452 textbooks for a large number of courses of study. That number amounted to 899.
8. There are 194 required subjects for which there are no textbooks. The courses of study cover 70 disciplines.
9. Seventy-six percent of the textbooks and courses of study require review to make them compatible with modern scientific development.
10. The condition of 28 percent of the buildings for technical institutes is poor.
11. Thirty-four percent of the buildings for technical institutes are not suitable at all.
12. Seventy-six percent of the workshops and laboratories are not suitable.
13. Forty-eight percent of the technical institutes do not have cars. (AL-BA'TH 17 August 1963).

8592

CSO: 4404/327

## BRIEFS

SECOND PRC CULTURAL REVOLUTION URGED--New Delhi, 15 February--The Charu Majumdar group of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has appealed to the people of China to start a second cultural revolution to oust what it calls the present pro-Soviet leadership in Beijing. A small group of Naxalites led by Mr Mahadeb Mukherjee is here to hand over a memorandum to this effect to the Chinese Embassy here on Wednesday. Releasing the memorandum, Mr Mukherjee told a press conference that his party was convinced that the people of China would respond to the memorandum and "throw out" the "Soviet renegades." Alleging that Beijing had betrayed the late Mao Zedong, the memorandum asserts that in India too the Naxalites would "liberate" the country by building up revolutionary committees. Asked whether his party had abandoned the theory of "annihilation of class enemy," he said the very term had been misinterpreted by the "bourgeoisie." Meanwhile, the rival Satya Narayan Singh group of the CPI (M-L), which has a wider following, held a meeting in the capital on Tuesday to welcome a cycle rally of their workers which had come from Calcutta. [Text] [BK251426 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 16 Feb 84 p 4]

HIGH COMMISSIONER TO CYPRUS--Govind Mahadeo Jambholkar, presently ambassador of India to Somalia, has been appointed as high commissioner for India to Cyprus in succession to Hari Krishan Mahajan. [Text] [BK260934 Delhi ISI in English 0901 GMT 23 Feb 84]

AMBASSADOR TO IRAN--Mr Ashok Gokhale has been appointed India's ambassador to Iran. He succeeds Mr Akbar Mirza Khaleeli. Mr Gokhale is presently India's ambassador to Thailand. [Text] [BK270539 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 26 Feb 84]

9459

CSO: 4600/1613

FORMER PRIME MINISTER BAKHTIAR INTERVIEWED ON IRAN SITUATION

PM091150 London AD-DUSTUR in Arabic 5 Mar 84 pp 22-24

[Interview with former Iranian prime minister now "National Resistance Movement Leader," Dr Shahpur Bakhtiar by Dr 'Ali Nur Zadah in London--date not given]

[Excerpts] We began the interview with the following general questions: How does Shahpur Bakhtiar see the future after 5 years of Khomeyni rule and has there been any change in Bakhtiar's thinking regarding the so-called Republic of the Ayatollahs and the possibility of overthrowing that regime?

Recalling that he was the first to predict Khomeyni's intentions, Dr Bakhtiar said: I warned that Khomeyni was the new Hitler, that black reaction had awakened, and that Khomeyni wanted the shah brought down not out of love for the people but out of lust for power. Most Iranians today realize the urgent need to overthrow Khomeyni and his regime. The Islamic countries and the whole world support us. I am referring here to the people because some governments, especially in the West, still attach some hope to Khomeyni. They believe that Khomeyni might facilitate their return to their old bases. However, during my meetings with Western officials I have warned against such beliefs and policies. Today, after 5 years, I can say that the world is beginning to grasp the significance of our warnings. All the Iranian people now share our view that Khomeyni must be brought down.

Question: Is there a particular side or state which gives you support and protection in your struggle against Khomeyni?

Answer: There is a big difference between support and protection. We are only protected by our people but we enjoy the moral support not, as I said, of the governments, but of the people of the world and of the politicians who believe in democracy. This has had a great effect on our struggle because these politicians persuade their governments to stop supporting Khomeyni and his regime. During my recent tour of the United States and some countries in our region and during my current visit to Britain I have sensed this moral support from politicians and some officials. They have all come to the conclusion that the Khomeyni regime is a threat to world security and could, through its madness and adventures cause a third world war.

Question: How do you assess the Soviet policy toward Iran, particularly after what has happened to the Tudeh Party?

Answer: One cannot ignore the fact that the Soviet Union has, from the days of the tsars to the present, had dreams and ambitions in Iran.

When Khomeyni assumed power the followers of the Iranian Communist Party and the Soviet Union concluded that the Regime of the Ayatollahs would not last and they wanted to be the only power in the arena, so they had dealings with the regime in order to be close by. However, when all the national, liberal, and radical movements, were liquidated they were next on the list. I have no doubt that, after 5 years of experience with the Khomeyni regime, the Soviet Union is now convinced that a continuation of the present regime in Tehran would not be beneficial to the Soviet Union and that, on the contrary, it would harm their relations with their friends and bring the day of confrontation with the Americans closer.

Question: So who stands to benefit from the Khomeyni regime?

Answer: The international oil companies, dealers on the arms black market, and the international mafia, including some politicians in Europe, the United States, and the region.

Question: How do you explain Syria's protection of the Khomeyni regime and its support for Tehran's ayatollahs?

Answer: It is very strange indeed because Syria is supposed to be governed by a socialist and secular party. I believe that Syria committed a serious mistake by supporting Khomeyni because Khomeyni is as much a threat to Syria as he is to other areas. I have recently received reports about the activities of Khomeyni's followers in Syria. Does Hafiz al-Asad realize what would happen to him if Lebanon fell to Khomeyni's followers in Lebanon? I have been following the news from Lebanon and I know that even the moderate Shi'ites and many Amal Movement leaders are beginning to see the danger of the extremists and are taking a stand against them.

Question: We know that severing relations with Israel and recognizing the PLO were foremost in the program you submitted to the Iranian parliament when you became prime minister. Has your concept of the Palestinian question now changed?

Answer: I did announce the severance of relations with and the suspension of oil exports to Israel. I also recognized the PLO as a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and decided to open a PLO office in Tehran because I believe that the Palestinian cause is a just cause and I believe in the Palestinian people's right to live in their own homeland. The tragedy of these people has continued for 35 years. I view King Husayn's moves and his negotiations with Yasir 'Arafat with some hope. I do hope that these meetings will produce a solution to the Palestinian people's problem. I am convinced, however, that there can be no solution to the region's problems

in general and the Palestinian problem in particular unless that madman Khomeyni, who has been sowing confusion and sedition between brothers and nations, falls, I draw attention here to the part he played in the incidents between Yasir 'Arafat and the so-called dissidents. I want also to say that the PLO was wrong to support Khomeyni in the past.

Question: How do you assess the war and how can it be ended?

Answer: I said before the war and I say now that the actions of Khomeyni and his regime against Iraq and their attempt to export their own disaster to Iraq for terrorist operations were among the main causes of the war.

Now there is not one family in Iran which has not suffered materially and morally from the war. So far 500,000 people have been killed. One hundred thousand have been disabled, and 4 million have been displaced and moved out of their towns and villages. Opportunities for ending the war and reaching a settlement acceptable to both sides were available 3 years ago, but Khomeyni has described the war as a blessing for the Islamic Republican Regime. I do not understand how Khomeyni can regard a war of death and destruction as something good or as a blessing and still claim to be a Muslim. If Khomeyni falls today the war will end 1 hour later, because we do not covet the territory of others, especially when it is the territory of a Muslim neighbor with whom we have deep-rooted ties. We want to live in peace within secure and recognized borders and we want the same thing for others. The Iran of the future will be an ally and a friend to all the states in the region and it will be nonaligned.

Question: It has been said that Khomeyni's regime would fall if the world stopped buying Iranian oil because Khomeyni purchases arms with the oil revenues. He barter oil for arms.

Answer: Yes, that is true and that is why I have sent a letter to Japan, the top importer of Iranian oil, saying that it would not be difficult to get oil from Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Venezuela, or Mexico, so why antagonize the Iranian people by dealing with the Khomeyni regime? Do you know that your money is contributing to the extermination of the Iranian people? I said that to the Japanese and I also told them that Khomeyni would fall and that we would never forget the attitude of those who supported him.

Question: Do you see any signs of early salvation?

Answer: Dawn is near. We are doing our duty until zero hour strikes and it happens.

Question: Until what happens? A military development?

Answer: I do not want to talk about it or give any details because this is a sensitive and secret matter, but I assure you that a popular revolution supported by the armed forces is not far off.



Question: We have information that there have been two attempts on your life and that one of them nearly succeeded. Bearing in mind the recent assassination of General Oveysi by Khomeyni agents, do you fear for your life.

Answer: My only hope is the liberation of our country, even if it means sacrificing my life for Iran.

CSO: 4604/16

## TEHRAN DENOUNCES UK HYPOCRISY ON GULF WAR

GF031952 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpt] The British imperialist administration has announced its determination to provide 150,000 pounds sterling in the form of aid to the victims of war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the ruling regime in Baghdad. This news item reveals a number of facts associated with the nature of the international arrogance. Britain is a flagrant example of this materialistic world, which carries the name of arrogance and which always tries to veil the blatant aggression against the free people by using artificial makeup that quickly dissociates before the wave of facts. Some may inquire: Has Britain decided through this act to repent for its numerous crimes and to return to the logic of neutrality and thus refrain from providing the rulers of Iraq with the latest inventions of killing and destruction? Or has it decided to completely perpetrate whatever is against this?

It is evident that since the eruption of the aggressive war against the Islamic Republic of Iran Britain has been the strongest ally of the Iraqi rulers. The public opinion does not forget the visit of British Secretary of Foreign Affairs Lord Carrington to Baghdad a short time before the eruption of the war. During this visit, the plan for waging an extensive aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran was mapped out. This war is still in its second year. [sentence as heard] Since that very day, Britain has been providing aid and signing agreements with its customers in the Middle East, the Ba'thist rulers of Iraq. Agreements in the form of billions of dollars were signed, according to which various forms of weapons were provided, including tanks and planes, to be used in the war against the Islamic Republic of Iran. The chemical weapons which are banned internationally were the most recent genocidal weapons which Britain supplied its agents in Baghdad to be used in the war against the Moslem people in Iran.

Al-Jazrawi, one of the henchmen of the regime, announced after his return from London that Iraq possessed the weapons that would enable it to counterbalance the superiority in the number of the Islamic forces. This announcement on this visit made it clear that the talks of al-Jazrawi in London included this issue and that Britain is willing to supply its agents with whatever weapons they need, even if those that are banned internationally. Since then,

the regime of Baghdad has used these destructive weapons against the Islamic forces. The British papers did not conceal the secret of this deal indefinitely. The papers provided evidence that the source of these weapons was Britain and that Britain got millions of dollars in return for this deal. It could be that after this secret revealed the rules of Iraq found out that they bring their British masters into a critical situation whenever they use they use these weapons against the Islamic forces. [as received] That is why they denied using the chemical weapons in the latest battles.

This regime cares nothing about these crimes because those who launch the giant missiles against the innocent residents of the cities will not accept being banned from using the chemical weapons. But, since the source that provided it with these weapons has become known, Iraq has found that public opinion may turn against Britain. The other side, Britain, is trying to find a means to cover up its criminal act. It found nothing better than looking like someone who sympathizes with the victims of the war and pretending to be neutral. That is why this announcement was made and was carried by the British media with regard to allocating 150,000 pounds sterling to the victims of both sides of the war.

CSO: 4604/18

COMMENTS ON 'HOLY WAR FROM BAGHDAD TO CASABLANCA'

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 25 Feb 84 p 12

[Article by Magdi Allam: "Holy War from Baghdad to Casablanca--Khomeyni Establishes His Own International"]

[Text] On the way Back From Iran, February

"Death to the U.S.!" is the first banner I see from the Alitalia Airbus as I arrived at Tehran airport. It is on the face of an office building off to one side, printed in gigantic letters, and it dates back to 1979. At the airport entrance, another banner: "Islamic Republic: neither Western nor Eastern." Inside the customs area the wall graffiti are numerous: "Death to the USSR", "Death to Israel" and "Death to France." These are just the most recent and are indicative of the enemies Khomeyni's regime has made in addition to the "Great Satan", the U.S.

In an attempt to extricate itself from the increasing isolation and to respond to the mass media hostile to Iran, local authorities picked the revolution's fifth anniversary to stage a large scale meeting for "faithful Khomeyni followers," "sympathizers" and "friends" from about 40 countries as well as some "objective" individuals. In this last category were found 20 newsmen from different countries.

As I wait for my bags, a young man in his 30's, bold in demeanor, excitement in his eyes and his voice, approached me. He introduced himself as a Palestinian living in Brazil. "Brother", he said, "What country are you from?" "Egypt! Dear brother, how is the Islamic revolution doing in Egypt? Is the victory of Islam over Mubarak's atheist regime near?" There is much euphoria and naivete here, but the important fact is that this is where the first "Revolutionary Islamic International" of the 20th century is about to meet.

This initiative comes just 2 weeks after the meeting of the Casablanca Islamic Conference, the official Pan-Islamic Organization, shunned by Iran, which labelled it a "plot engineered by the United States." The "guest" delegations are lodged at the Esteghlal (former Hilton) Hotel, in the capital's outskirts. The lobby is filled with "Pasadaran" (Revolutionary Guards) and with long banners hung on the walls with the inscriptions "Long Life To Khomeyni, To the Coming of the Mahdi, the Messiah," "For the continuation of the Prophet's line until the establishment of the government of faith and martyrdom everywhere in the world."

My first meeting is with a Jordanian, Esam Al Taraubi, member of the "Movement of the Children of the Koran", the organization of Khomeyni supporters. He was condemned to death in his country and now lives in Tehran. The outline of the interview's salient points: "Our organization has made important inroads within the army. We have murdered Jordanian diplomats abroad and we have carried out the dynamite attacks that recently have shaken Jordan. Last year our attempt to blow up the U.S. embassy in Amman failed. Our objective: We want King Hussein's head and we want to establish an Islamic republic."

Returning from a visit to the Majlis (Parliament), where we were received by President Hojatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, on the bus I met a member of the Moroccan delegation. King Hassan had recently accused Khomeyni of being behind the popular revolts that have occurred throughout the whole country. "It is true," claimed Abu Mohammed, the pseudonym for this Moroccan "brother". "The revolt was instigated by the Moroccan Islamic movement, a Khomeyni-inspired organization. It is headed by Abdel Salam Iassin, who is now in jail, and we publish the magazine entitled AL JAMAA (Islamic Community). The battle for Islam in Morocco is also carried out by the "Islamic Moroccan Youth", an organization led by Abdel Kerim Moteiah, presently living in France, who publishes the AL MUJAHID (Fighter for Islam) magazine. Before getting off the bus, in chorus, a loud "Death to Hassan, to Bourghiba, to Mubarak and to Assad" was heard.

#### Honor to the Martyrs Who Killed Sadat

In the evening, the national radio broadcasted an interview with another "brother," in this case, one from Egypt. His name is Kemal Al Shiarbasi, 30 years old, and is a student in West Germany. He is a member of "Al Jihad," the organization that was responsible for the murder of Sadat. "There is a great deal of cooperation between the Islamic Republic and Al Jihad," he claimed. "It is a sacred duty to follow the Imam Khomeyni." He goes on to explain that in Egypt there are other integrated organizations that "cooperate" with Iran: "Al Takfir Ual Higra" (Repentance and Exodus) founded by Shukri Mustafa; the "Party for Islamic Liberation;" the "Organization of the Kotbiun" (from Saied Kotb, the ideologue of the Moslem Brotherhood); and the "Gund Allah" organization (Soldiers of God). In Tehran an important road has been named after Khaled Islambuli, the actual trigger-man in the Sadat assassination. He has also been memorialized in a postage stamp on the anniversary of his being sentenced to death.

In addition to Jordanians, Moroccans and Egyptians, this "Revolutionary Islamic International" also hosted representatives of Gulf Arab countries that are members of the "Liberation Movement of the Arabian Peninsula," representatives of the African Islamic countries (Senegal, Nigeria and Mali), Asian Islamic countries (Pakistanis and Indians) and even French, Americans and Swedes. Relations of a Privileged" nature link Iran with Iraq and Lebanese Shiites whose leaders, the Hodjatoleslam Mohammad Bakr Al Hakim and the Ayatollah Mohammad Fadlallah reside in Tehran. The latter is the figure Khomeyni would like to see take the place of the late Musa Sadr.



Therefore it is true that Iran has a fifth column inside Arab and Islamic countries, made up of fanatical young men ready to sacrifice themselves for the triumph of the ideal of the resurgence of the "Umma", (Islamic Nation) as exposed by Khomeyni. However, it is also true that this is just one side of the coin, and at the same time, Iran's international relations are characterized by a surprising sense of political pragmatism. Let us take the case of its two Arab "allies", Syria and Libya. The Syrian Government, which is lay and a minority government, forcefully represses revolts which are brought about by vast segments of the population, which is Sunni Muslim. Their leaders had viewed the advent of the Islamic Revolution with great hopes and had forged close links with Khomeyni in 1979. Nevertheless, 1 year after the war with Iraq broke out, Khomeyni chose to be the ally of Assad. The enemy of the common enemy became a friend, and the Syrian Muslims were left to their fate.

This deep-rooted ambiguity to this day keeps Syrian-Irani relations on a razor's edge: they are made compatible by the common goal of wanting to overthrow Saddam Husayn, but they are in a disagreement over all other matters, such as the future of Iraq and Lebanon, where Khomeyni would like to see Islamic republic established, while Assad, understandably, does not agree. With regard to Libya, Khomeyni decided not to normalize bilateral relations and did not welcome any Libyan emissaries in the wake of the mysterious disappearance of the Imam Musa Sadr. Nevertheless, with Qadhdhafi's offers of weapons, he changed his attitude and today the relationship between the two countries is defined as "strategic".

This same pragmatic policy characterized the relationship with the two super-powers. With the "hostage crisis" slowly receding into the background, commercial links are gradually back on the increase. Tehran first of all reimbursed its debts owed to public organizations and private banks in America and in return, Washington unfroze funds deposited at the time by the shah and has furnished Iran, through third parties, with weapons and spare parts. An illustrative example: In 1981 imports from Iran had dropped to \$63 million. In 1982 they were about 10 times that much, totalling \$584 million.

#### In the Meantime, However, Italian Arms Arrive

Iranian authorities have maintained good relations with the USSR, even though local Tudeh communists have been accused of spying for Moscow. "Plotting on part of the Tudeh does not affect our relations with Moscow in a negative manner," we were told by Foreign Minister Velayati. "The USSR is our neighbor and we want to have friendly relations with them, based on mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs". Several hundred Soviet advisors are engaged at the Isfahan steel mill as well as at the Atrak Dam construction site, along with common border.

By and large, West European or nonaligned countries enjoy a favorable position in matters concerning commerce. These countries, in addition, are also able to furnish, directly or indirectly, different types of weapons. Italy is in

the forefront of these weapons supplying countries. Also, Italy is the most important importer of Iranian goods and the second most important exporter of goods to Iran, following Japan. Italy sells weapons through third countries and middlemen and Rome has become a transit center for U.S. arms destined for Iran. The importance Iran attaches to Italy is illustrated by the assignment of Vatican ambassador Sayed Hadi Khosrowshahi as head of the Iranian propaganda apparatus for all of West Europe.

9209

CSO: 4628/6

# IRAN REPORTEDLY MAINTAINS ECONOMIC HEALTH DESPITE WAR

Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 13 Feb 84 p 9

[Text] Teheran, 11-12 Feb 1984--Despite all of the pessimistic forecasts, in the 5 years of its existence the Islamic Republic of Iran has been astonishingly successful in establishing itself both politically and economically.

Not even the setbacks caused by the Gulf War have been able to endanger economic development. The economy is in remarkably good condition despite the enormous costs of war and the great damages suffered in combat operations.

According to data by the Iranian Central Bank, foreign exchange reserves increased from \$2 billion, 2 years ago, to \$12 billion. The proceeds from oil exports are estimated at \$20 billion for the current year (21 March 1983 through 20 March 1984). Export volume is estimated at \$21.5 billion. With imports in the range of \$15 billion, the trade balance will have a surplus of about \$6.5 billion.

The FRG is first among supplier countries, with imports valued at \$2.3 billion. It is followed by Japan (\$2 billion). Iran is eager to reduce the existing deficit in its trade with the FRG. This, however, seems hardly possible as long as petroleum comprises 92.5 percent of Iranian exports.

## Focus on Petrochemicals

Most of the projects in the infrastructural area, which in part spring from the time of the monarchy, are being continued. Iran is strongly interested in the completion of the petrochemical complex in Bandar Khomeini being built by an Iranian-Japanese joint venture and damaged in the hostilities (estimated costs \$4 billion). So far, however, work has not been resumed because of the Iraqi threat to bomb the complex again. The Japanese consortium that is participating in the project has repeatedly sought to obtain a security guarantee for its employees from the Government of Iraq.

## Plans Ready for the Postwar Period

Apparently, however, the Japanese have been partially successful in their efforts, for Japanese engineers have begun to evaluate the damages at the site and to prepare for the resumption of work. The complex is scheduled for completion in 1989.

The government, which does not doubt that it will soon defeat Iraq in the war, believes that it is not too soon to plan for peacetime. The first development plan of the revolutionary regime, which covers the period from 21 March 1983 through 20 March 1988, was obviously made under the assumption that the war will come to an end in 1984. It provides for expenditures of \$167 billion and annual growth of 14.5 percent for industry, 7 percent for agriculture and 9 percent for the GNP.

Agriculture is to receive particular support, so that in time self-sufficiency may be attained in foodstuffs. With annual population growth of 3.1 percent, however, this may be difficult to accomplish. Of the financial resources to be invested, 16.7 percent is foreseen for agriculture. At this time, the importation of agricultural products burdens the public treasury to the tune of \$1 billion annually. The principal imports are meat, dairy products, rice and grain.

Another focal point of the plan is the diversification of exports by promoting non-petroleum exports, so as also to combat unemployment, which is estimated at 19.2 percent.

## Renewed Demand for Skilled Workers

The greatest handicap in carrying out any of the development plans, however, is the lack of qualified workers. It has been calculated that 130,000 skilled workers will be needed in the next 5 years.

In the framework of the plan, foreign companies see good business opportunities in the area of the natural gas industry as well as in the construction of power plants, refineries, harbors and roads. Several contracts are expected to be awarded this year. Iranian officials also indicate opportunities during reconstruction after the end of the war.

9746

CSO: 4620/33

## IRAN

### VELAYATI ON U.S. PRESENCE IN GULF, CLOSURE OF HORMUZ STRAIT

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 5 Mar 84 pp 4, 15

[Interview with Foreign Minister Velayati by ETTELA'AT; date and place not specified]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with ETTELA'AT, Dr Velayati expressed his views in regards to the closure of the Straits of Hormuz, the barbarous actions of Saddam, relations between Iran and the neighboring countries, the Syrian proposal, the visit of Amin Gemayel with Hafiz Assad, the replacement of Saddam and also the Islamic conference.

The detailed text of the interview with Dr Velayati is as follows:

#### U.S. Adventurism

Question: With the start of the Kheybar special operations, the United States has been trying to divert world public opinion from the main front of the Iran-Iraq war to the Persian Gulf, to thereby justify its presence in the Persian Gulf. If the West intends to continue this adventurism and bring the the Persian Gulf into a crisis situation, what action will the Islamic Republic take?

Answer: The Iran-Iraq war was imposed on us by Iraq and we know that this government has been encouraged by our enemies to engage in this ridiculous action. The enemies of the Islamic revolution imagined that Iraq would be able to destabilize the foundations of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this manner. The United States is certainly at the head of the countries which forced and encouraged Saddam to take such a step. But, when it became clear that our nation was determined to defend the Islamic revolution, the Islamic Republic and the territorial integrity of its Islamic country, to put Saddam in his place and to bring this war to an end in complete and overall victory, those who had made Saddam



invade us tried to impose a peace upon us. In order to prevent the total defeat of the government of Iraq, recent attempts have been made both by Saddam and by his supporters to expand this war and to engage in a series of adventurist actions in the Persian Gulf. We have announced that this war is between us and Saddam and that our combative forces will respond to this aggressor. But in regards to the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz, in our opinion, the presence of any foreign force in this region is condemned by the world and is a blatant violation of the rights of the countries on the Persian Gulf. Iran, as the most important power in the region, with the largest coastline in the Persian Gulf, has an important role in preserving the security of the Persian Gulf. We insist that the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz, that is, the international waterways, must remain secure and we are also against any sort of adventurism by the dominating powers and their allies in the region.

#### Closure of the Straits of Hormuz

Question: Considering that the president and representative of the imam in the Supreme Defense Council has frequently said that Iran will not close the Straits of Hormuz as long as it is able to export oil and that it will protect its security, while it is observed that the propaganda loudspeakers of global oppression are pretending that the Straits of Hormuz are about to be closed and are supposedly preparing to confront it, what is your opinion in this regard?

Answer: In regards to this question, I must say that actually, to save Saddam, they are trying to spread the war to other places and it is also in the interests of Saddam that the great powers be brought into the region and the war in order that he be saved. Here, I must emphasize that, as the imam has said and all the signs indicate, the government of Saddam will fall. And as long as we are able to export our oil through the Straits of Hormuz and our vital economic interests are not threatened in the region, we will not close the Straits. But if Iran's vital interests in the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz are withheld, there is no reason why we should honor our commitment. In such an event, the closure of the Straits of Hormuz would not be difficult for us, contrary to the propaganda.

#### The Barbarous Actions of Saddam

Question: Although the Islamic Republic has declared that it will retaliate if the Ba'thist regime continues its bombing, we see that the regime of Iraq has engaged in this barbarous action. What is your opinion in regards to the reasons and roots of Saddam's recent actions?

Answer: Despite the fact that Saddam had announced that he would not strike our cities, we knew that he would not honor his promises and would engage in such actions. In fact, the war started because of the violation of a treaty signed between Iran and Iraq in 1975. Iraq cancelled this treaty unilaterally and invaded Iran. The history of this person (Saddam) shows that whenever he is able to, he ignores his treaties and promises. Hence, it was clear to us that this person would attack our cities. Therefore, in order to give him the benefit of the doubt, we gave him the opportunity, but he did not keep his promise, as was expected, and Iran retaliated. Despite the fact that the Ba'thist government of Iraq has suffered heavy damages because of Iran's retaliation and insists on bombing our residential areas, in essence, a drowning man resorts to any means to save himself.

#### The Presence of U.S. and British Battleships in the Persian Gulf

Question: How do you analyze the presence of U.S. and British battleships in the Persian Gulf; what will the reaction of the Islamic Republic be to this act; and what does it recommend in regards to the consequences for the Gulf countries as a result of the adventurism of the United States in the region?

Answer: The presence of U.S. and British battleships in the Persian Gulf stems from the domineering nature of those two governments, which is not new. Of course, England has a longer history and the United States a shorter one. But, in any case, both operate along the same lines and in regards to world domination, one is the heir of the other. In our opinion, they are wiser than to interfere in the Persian Gulf or invade Iran, unless we believe that the leaders of these two governments have lost their minds, because the five-year experience of the Islamic Republic has certainly made it clear for them that this nation and government will not submit to the global dominators of any political form or persuasion. In other words, this nation and this government will not submit to the blackmail of any foreign power. These people do not have the ability to confront us in our country and in the region, because our people are armed with the faith which their forces lack. Hence, our analysis is that they are trying to wage a psychological war against the Islamic Republic and, in fact, by their presence in the region, they hope to give confidence to their supporters and agents in the region. But in any case, our people and our regime are fully prepared to defend their inalienable rights.

#### Good Relations with the Countries in the Region

Question: The authorities of the Islamic Republic have frequently announced that Iran seeks good relations with the countries on the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf.

Nevertheless, some of these countries still provide propaganda as well as economic and, occasionally, military support for Saddam's regime. What is your opinion on this issue?

Answer: As you said, Iran wants good relations with its neighboring countries, including the countries on the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf. And we do not have good relations with some of them. We have warned them not to tie their fate to that of Saddam, because Saddam is like a decayed rope which is about to break. Today or tomorrow, in any case, in the not-too-distant future, the Ba'thist-Zionist government of Iraq will be destroyed.

### The New Syrian Proposal

Question: What is your opinion in regards to the new developments in Lebanon? Given the fact that the eight-point proposal of Fahd has failed and Syria has offered a new proposal, tell us the position of Iran in regards to this proposal?

Answer: In connection with Lebanon, we have frequently stated our opinion openly. Concerning the new Syrian proposal and Iran's position, I must say that since this proposal has not been officially announced, we are waiting for it to be offered and then we will give our opinion. However, in regards to Lebanon, the multinational forces have no place as far as the Arabs in this country are concerned and if they do not act themselves, the Muslim people of Lebanon will be forced to expel them from Lebanon.

Israel will not have a better fate than the multinational forces, because that country has long been retreating step by step from Lebanon and is very vulnerable at the present time in regards to the positions it occupies, every day suffering more blows. Israel will also be forced to leave Lebanon sooner or later, given the growth of the Islamic movement in Lebanon. But the situation with regard to the government of Lebanon is a legacy of the colonial times which has been imposed on Lebanon. This must change to a reasonable system which corresponds to the interests of the people of Lebanon. Given that the majority of the people of Lebanon are Muslims, there is no reason why their president should be a non-Muslim. And if we want to rely on the usual democratic traditions in the world, again, it is the right of the majority of the Muslim people to have the most share in the government of Lebanon or they should have a share proportionate to their population.

This demand is a right that can be explained and defended everywhere.

## Meeting of Amin Gemayel with Assad

Question: As you know, recently, Amin Gemayel went to Damascus to meet with Hafiz Assad. What is your opinion concerning this meeting and the issue of the "Lebanese national reconciliation"?

Answer: The Syrian government had announced that if the president of Lebanon agrees to cancel the Lebanon-Israel agreement or appears to be prepared to cancel it and Amin Gemayel had in fact accepted this proposal [as published].

About two or three weeks ago, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had expressed its views concerning the replacement of the multinational forces with UN forces. Because the UN forces have not worked out very well in Lebanon--it was with the presence of these forces that Israel invaded Lebanon and they created no obstacles for the Zionist regime--we opposed it and in the last few days, this issue was raised in the Security Council and rejected by a decisive vote.

Thus, France was forced to take its forces out of Lebanon. I announce here that any solution in regards to Lebanon which is not based on protecting the interests of the Muslim people of Lebanon is doomed to fail and no power will be able to impose a solution on the people of Lebanon which is contrary to their interests.

## Succession of Saddam

Question: Foreign news agencies have published propaganda in regards to Taha Yasin Ramadan succeeding Saddam. What is your opinion concerning this propaganda?

Answer: We have also heard through the mass media about the succession of Taha Yasin Ramadan to replace Saddam, but, as Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani and other high ranking officials of the country have said, it is the duty of the people of Iraq to determine the kind of government in Iraq after the fall of Saddam. Considering that a total majority of the people of that country are Muslims, naturally, they will want a government which follows the path and direction of Islam.

## Revival of the Islamic Conference

Question: Recently, the president of Turkey, after a visit to Saudi Arabia, announced that he will try his utmost to end the Iran-Iraq war. Does this mean that the Islamic conference will be revived in this regard?

Answer: In this regard, our opinion remains the same, which was stated by the representative of the imam of the nation in the



Supreme Defense Council in his recent interview. In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran has not closed any door to mediation. This was perhaps predictable, but it was to make clear that the government of Iraq will not agree to anything. Otherwise, for more than two years since the imposed war began, mediation delegations have travelled between Iraq and us and it has become clear that the government of Iraq does not adhere to any part of the general international principles and does not understand any language except that of force. Hence, statements made by some people are not new. From our point of view, such acts are not acceptable and our response is negative.

He added: Unfortunately, the Islamic conference did not do its duty in regards to the imposed war of Iraq on Iran. Before the Islamic conference in Rabat, we wanted to have a delegation similar to the one which came from the United Nations to see the destruction of our cities first hand. They did not respond positively to this suggestion. Hence, the steps which have been stated as being taken by the officials of some countries are futile and the Islamic Republic will not accept them.

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CSO: 4640/143



## TABRIZ RADIO WARNS U.S. ON PERSIAN GULF

GF071740 Tabriz Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 6 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] As the military operations by the forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the battle fronts are expanding, the military circles and propaganda means of international imperialism are hatching new conspiracies in order to keep the Persian Gulf and Hormuz Strait under their control. The U.S. fleet and British warships have started regular tours in the Gulf of Oman and Indian Ocean.

The satanic forces, led by the United States, are trying in every way to show that the Persian Gulf has already become an unstable region and that it is very dangerous for the Arab countries in the region. For this reason, their warships are constantly travelling in the Gulf.

Meanwhile, following the beginning of the glorious Khaybar operations, the so-called security council of the Persian Gulf held an extraordinary session to review the possibilities of a united force to defend the region. In this session, the Zionist regime of Iraq also carried out large scale work as the friend of the Arab countries. They wanted to arrange a way for international imperialism to directly intervene in the region and for international imperialism, led by the United States to undertake adventures in the Persian Gulf and Hormuz Strait and put the Hormuz Strait under its control.

However, international imperialism and the United States should know very well that the presence of foreign forces in the region will not suspend Saddam's fall and the expected security and stability of the Arabs but will cause the escalation of tension in the region and the expansion of the war to other Persian Gulf countries. The United States should know well that if it intends to resort to adventures in the region it will face the same destiny as in Lebanon and will disappear by the same Muslim revolutionaries who regard the Islamic revolution more precious than their lives.

The United States urged the Zionist Ba'ath Government of Iraq to launch a military attack against Iran and it put all its military capabilities at Iraq's disposition. The unruly Saddam thought that he could be the defender of the interests of U.S. imperialism in the region. After failing and making the Persian Gulf an insecure region, he tried to expand the war in the region and bring the United States into the scene. Despite all those conspiracies he did not achieve his purpose and after the final defeats, his condition deteriorated and he is facing a critical situation today.

# ISLAMIC ASSEMBLY OFFICIAL APPEALS TO IRAQI ARMY

GF241600 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1416 GMT 24 Feb 84

[From "Voice of Islamic Revolution in Iraq" Program: Appeal to "The Iraqi Army and People" by official in charge of military unity in the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq--live or recorded]

[excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. In the name of God, the smiter of oppressors. "We shall guide those who fought and struggled to the right path." [Koranic verse] O sons of wounded Iraq! O sons of 'Ali and Husayn! O sons of 'Umar and Khlad! The Islamic march has come to liberate you from the tyranny of the infidel Ba'thists. You are aware of the actions, the tryanny and oppression, of the 'Aflaqi Saddam and the infidel Ba'thist clique: They killed our ulema, foremost among whom is our great martyr and religious authority, the Grand Ayatullah as-Sadr; they executed our youth; they violated our sanctities and honor.

O sons of Iraq, you know how Saddam forced our sons to fight in this war against Islam or be killed so that Saddam retains his seat of power and enjoys the sight of the blood of martyrs and the bodies of the deprived and the money of the poor. God lies in wait for him. O sons of the suffering Iraqi people! The days of Saddam are over, and the light of Islam has begun to spread, God willing. The dawn of Islam has come again. Soon you will taste the sweetness of Islam and freedom and see how you can be freed of your shackles.

O sons of suffering Iraq! Rise and destroy your prison cells and go to the streets to embrace the soldiers of Islam, the sons of Islam who are bringing to you freedom, Islam, compassion and mercy.

O honorable people of Iraq! O zealous men of the humiliated Iraqi Army! O honorable officers and NCO's! We urge you in the name of Islam to awake from your deadly slumber and return to your conscience and ask yourselves, you who are the sons of Islam: Do you have the right to keep silent on Saddam's crimes against your ulema, on the killing of your religious authority, on the plundering of the funds of your women, on the violation of your honor? Will you remain silent on the crimes he committed against your great army: Instead of sending this strong army to liberate Jerusalem, Saddam sent it to this war, to fight Islam, to be torn apart by the bullets of Islam. The criminal Saddam plays havoc with the destiny of the people and the army. You know how he has belittled the officers and belittled your auspicious army.

O sons of the Tigris and the Euphrates, break your fetters and strike at the criminals and traitors. O sons of as-Sadr, welcome the soldiers of Islam: Open your homes to them and embrace them, for they have come to save you and break the fetters on your hands and tongues.

O honorable men and officers of the Iraqi Army! Surrender as soon as possible and do not accept shame and disgrace, do not let your children be told: You are the sons of those who fought Islam and were killed by the bullets of Islam.

Surrender to the forces of Islam so that you will live in safety and tend to wounded Iraq and participate in the establishment of an Islamic government in Iraq so that we will all live like brothers in Iraq and build it together, God willing. Repent and God will accept your repentance, for He is merciful and forgiving. Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

[Signed] Official in charge of military unity in the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

CSO: 4604/19

IRAN REJECTS ANY RECONCILIATION EFFORTS

GF051946 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 5 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Islamic Republic has repeatedly rejected any kind of reconciliation with the Baghdad regime. Today it once again declared through its leader and the guide of its course, Imam Khomeyni, its total rejection of any effort made to reconcile with Ba'athist rulers in Iraq.

Saddam, who launched an aggression against the Islamic Republic, bombarded Islamic cities with rockets, and occupied them in the ugliest ways; Saddam, who caused all these catastrophes and disasters not only against the Muslim Iranian civilians but also against the Iraqi people and all the free peoples; with all those crimes this tyrant has become a war criminal today who should be tried and receive the strictest punishment.

Any silence toward Saddam's crimes or reconciliation with him means giving total legitimacy to those crimes which he perpetrated and paid other executioners to carry out. The compulsion of international society to punish this criminal will force other tyrants to abandon their criminal practices against people. On this basis, any peaceful meeting with the aggressors will encourage aggression.

The Islamic Republic has declared its stable and principled stance which can never be changed. It is a stance that has been adopted since the first days of the imposed war when its territories were occupied. It adopts this position today when it is on the threshold of victory and only a few steps remain for final victory. Is it logical for Iran to abandon these positions and return to the beginning in the name of an illusive peace and false reconciliation whose results can be predicted?

CSO: 4604/17

# EDUCATORS APPEAL FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE INQUIRY

LD142312 Tehran IRNA in English 2003 GMT 14 Mar 84

[Text] Tehran, 14 March IRNA--In an appeal to international researchers the Islamic Society of University Professors called on them to travel to Iran and obtain first-hand evidence of the crimes of war as perpetrated in Iran by the ruling government in Baghdad.

In the communique the Iranian educators also warned international research and scientific centres of the current exploitation against human lives of scientific discoveries and the actual and potential threats against human beings of the misapplication of such discoveries by irresponsible people. The following are highlights of the communique.

"We awaken the scholars and thinkers of the world, irrespective of their intellectual, ideological or political dependency to the misuse of the results of their scientific and technical research.

"We awaken the scientific and research institutes of the world to the crimes which the Iraqi regime commits today within the borders of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

"We warn everyone that if they do not react to these crimes the life of humanity will face a serious danger in the near future.

"With the use of chemical bombs, the production and use of which have been prohibited by international military agreements and conventions, Saddam is trying to buy time for his disgraceful life while he further discloses the superpowers' evil-doings with the black report of his crime.

"We invite all of the university professors and scientific institutes of the world to witness the results of these crimes at close hand and announce their opinions on the following issues to the world:

"1. The disregard of all the international contracts and conventions which prohibit the production and use of chemical bombs.

"2. The evil use of science and scientific research for the destruction of the life of humanity.



"3. The crimes against humanity and the massacre of human beings with the use of the dirtiest of methods.

"4. The damaging of the awakened consciences who have a great love for humanity.

"5. The hypocritical silence of Eastern and Western propagandic media of some institutes and organizations causing anxiety in the minds of the people of the world by distorting the truth with ignorant lies and the dissemination of slogans by some other media.

"6. The seeking of a solution so that an insane person like Saddam can no longer act as an agent to carry out the orders of the superpowers to play with the life and honor of humanity...."

CSO: 4600/425

IRNA REPORTS IRAQ RECEIVED TOXIC ARMS FROM UK, USSR, FRANCE

LD101834 Tehran IRNA in English 1225 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Text] Vienna, 10 March, IRNA--Professor Honidrex of Beligum announced Friday night that his tests on the Iranian combatants wounded in the chemical bombing by Iraq, verified the toxic substance as nitrogen gas (N-lost), known also as 'yellow cross' and another more dangerous substance "mycotoxin" or 'yellow rain.'

Professor Honidrex has made several tests, upon the request of Austrian doctors, on the Iranian wounded combatants to identify the type of the poisonous substances deployed by the Iraqi regime.

It seems that Professor Honidrex's statements only include some of the various toxic weapons used in battle fields by the Baghdad regime.

Britain, despite its repeated denial is among such countries reported to have collaborated with Iraq in such an inhumanistic act, of which is has been vehemently condemned by representatives of the opposition party. Also Western sources allege that such lethal weapons have been delivered to Iraq by the Soviet Union.

The Soviets, one of the major suppliers of arms to the Baghdad regime, has not so far denied the allegation while the Pugwash Conference, in a report on the deployment of chemical weapons against 13 countries in the world, including Iran, in 1982, believes that the Socialist Government of France has provided Iraq with such toxic weapons.

CSO: 4600/424

# IRNA CITES INFORMATION ON IRAQ'S USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS

GF081750 Tehran IRNA in English 1717 GMT 8 Mar 84

[Text] Tehran, 8 March, IRNA--In a report released by the Pugwash Conference in Geneva, it was announced that during 1982, chemical bombs were used against 13 countries in the world, including Iran.

According to the Pugwash report, the bombs employed by the Iraqi regime against the Islamic Republic, have been delivered to the former by the Socialist Government of France.

Meanwhile, a report published by Iran's war information headquarters, said that by the end of 1983, the Iraqi regime had deployed chemical weapons 48 times against Iranian military personnel and civilians leading to the martyrdom and injury of many people.

The war information headquarters report also includes a map of the 48 points targeted in Iraqi chemical bombing.

Reports of doctors treating Iranian combatants wounded by Iraqi chemical bombs, spoke of the different types of toxic chemicals the exposure of which has caused in those affected such symptoms as severe blisters, respiratory and kidney disorders, membrane irritation, nausea, loss of vision, bodily imbalance and nervous disturbances. In some of the victims the exposure to noxious chemicals has stopped production of white cells in the blood, thus making their bodies totally defenceless against various diseases.

Out of 15 victims of Iraqi chemical bombing who were sent abroad for treatment 1 by the name of Hoseyn Ebrahimi, in a Stockholm hospital, and another, by the name of Heidar Abedi, in Vienna, attained martyrdom. Also two other badly injured combatants, hospitalized in a Tehran hospital, succumbed to their injuries and joined the rank of martyrs while a delegation from the International Red Cross organisation was paying a visit to the wounded in the hospital.

In spite of repeated denial by the British Government in providing the Iraqi regime with lethal chemical weapons, representative of the British Labour Party Tony Banks, confirmed Britain's involvement in this inhumanistic act and disgraceful transaction as he described it.

On the same object FINANCIAL TIMES wrote in its 7 March 1984 issue that there were evidences indicating that 2 years ago Iraqi regime had purchased from English firms, gears particularly designed to protect troops against chemical weapons. The British officials endorsed the sale of the equipment alleging that they were to be used solely for defensive purposes.

It is believed that other countries might be involved in such a criminal act as the Turkish daily GUNESH and a number of other Western newspapers reported that the Soviet Union, a major supplier of arms and missiles to the Baghdad rulers to be used against Iranian residential areas, might have collaborated with the Iraqi regime in this respect.

Meanwhile, the Pugwash report, together with other strong evidences indicating close ties between the Iraqi regime and socialist government of France, testifies to that regimes collaboration with Baghdad rulers in the use of Chemical bombs against Iranians.

Pugwash conference sponsors meetings of scientists from different countries of the world to discuss problems of disarmament and world security.

The first meeting of the conference on science and world affairs, was held in the village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, in July 1957, in response to an appeal by Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein and other prominent figures of science.

CSO: 4600/423

TEHRAN RADIO COMMENTS ON SADDAM'S DOWNFALL

GF100840 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0746 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary from the Revolution Guards' Program]

[Excerpts] Today the two superpowers of the criminal West and the aggressive East have concentrated all their efforts and endeavors on preventing the downfall and overthrow of the Baghdad regime and thwarting the advance of the capable warriors of Islam.

They have placed the most modern armaments and sophisticated surveillance and intelligence equipment at the disposal of the ailing Saddam regime--these war criminals--for the perpetration of greater atrocities and bigger disasters. And with psychological support, material backing and propaganda assistance, they are attempting, in a dastardly manner by strengthening the morale of the defeated Ba'thist forces, to rearrange the disbanded and scattered ranks of the Saddam forces against the strength of the powerful forces. But all these conspiracies and unsuccessful attempts have brought nothing but degradation and humiliation, defeat and failure for the hatchers of the satanic policies--expansionists Washington and Moscow.

For example, some time ago Saddam the Zionist again proved the fruitlessness and futility of such designs in trying to carry out one of the latest orders of world oppression, based on a threat to launch bomb and missile attacks on some Iranian cities and later by implementing these anti-human threats. It was due to these threats that the ranks of volunteers for the warfronts swelled even more and a wave of jihad [holy war] lovers on the path of Islam and the Islamic revolution crested even higher and became more vociferous.

Today the influx of persons ready for battle on all the fronts from Khorramshahr to Piranshahr has endowed the warriors of Islam with such strength and power that they are capable of making the declining Ba'thist army the victim of its crushing onslaughts from all directions.

Hence the world satans should, in the days to follow, await the fall of more formidable blows on the decrepit form of their hireling. God willing!



TEHRAN CLAIMS CAPTURED DOCUMENTS SHOW IRAQI FORCES MUTINOUS, DISORGANIZED

LD110034 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Text] According to a report by the correspondent of the Central News Unit from Hamzeh Seyyed ash-Shohada Base, on the basis of documents which have been recently seized from the command bunkers of the Iraqi forces the mutiny of the Iraqi Armed Forces against the orders issued by the Ba'thist officers has assumed unprecedented proportions and each day a number of Iraqi officers and soldiers are executed for refusing to fight against the forces of Islam.

One of these documents which is regarded as one of the most important documents of contemporary wars is a letter from Colonel Taha Hamid Muhammad (?Luqa), the commander of the 21st Infantry Brigade, who has asked for a number of executioners to be sent to execute some officers and soldiers who disobeyed orders in his battalion [as heard]. In his letter Colonel Taha Hamid Muhammad writes: Please dispatch your representatives to carry out the order of execution against those who have disobeyed.

Continuing his report, the correspondent of the Central News Unit adds: The request made by Colonel Taha Hamid Muhammad in this letter illustrates two facts: First, that cases of disobedience in the 4th battalion of the 16th Iraqi Brigade [as heard] are so numerous that there are no trustworthy individuals left to carry out the orders of execution against those who have been arrested on charges of disobedience in that battalion and that the commander of the battalion has been forced to ask for executioners to be sent from other units. The second point is that the organization of the Iraqi Armed Forces has been so weakened that [the] 16th and 29th Brigades require special personnel to carry out the execution of a number of officers and soldiers; while in the past the execution of revolutionary and Muslim members of the Iraqi Armed Forces who were arrested while fleeing was carried out immediately and without any hesitation.

The names of revolutionary and Muslim officers, NCOS and soldiers of the Iraqi Armed Forces whose sentences of execution have been issued on the basis of this document are:

1. Lieutenant Husayn (Javad 'Atiyya)
2. Sergeant Major 'Abd al-Husayn Muhammad (Matam)
3. Sergeant Major Qasim Muhammad (Sha'ban)
4. Sergeant Major Khayrollah Kazim (?Jaras)
5. Sergeant Major Muhammad Jalil Muhammad ('Alavi)
6. Conscript soldier 'Abd al-Husayn (Mashhun)

Also, according to another document which has been seized the Infantry Lieutenant-Colonel Shukri Husayn (Umrán), the commander of the 3rd Battalion of the 93rd Brigade was executed on the direct orders of Saddam for having wounded himself in order to be excused from going to the front. The order of execution was carried out in front of the members of that battalion.

According to another very important document from the regime of Saddam, although he has signed an agreement with the supporters of Jalal Talebani and Qasemlu, he has issued secret military orders to supervise the Kurdish members of the Iraqi Armed Forces. The beginning of this order reads: The Kurds who are cooperating with us should be strictly supervised, because the present position is a very sensitive and tactical position and one should be very mindful of the consequences [as heard].

CSO: 4640/154

# NVOI COMMENTS ON FAILURE OF IRANIAN OFFENSIVES AGAINST IRAQ

TA082002 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 8 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary: "The People Will Utter the Last Word"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: More than 2 years have passed since the time when our homeland's revolutionary people succeeded, with unity of action and self-sacrifice, in driving out the aggressive Iraqi army from the homeland's soil, and in foiling the plan of international imperialism, headed by America, to crush the glorious popular and anti-imperialist revolution of February 1979.

During this period the ignorant friends and the wise enemies in the government impressed upon the broad masses of toilers and the fervent revolutionary youths that Saddam can be finished with one blow and that Iraq's government--which is in the throes of death--can be overthrown. On the basis of this entirely incorrect calculation, the leaders of the Islamic regime launched scores of large-scale offensives. In every offensive they dispatched scores of thousands of youths and youngsters to the slaughterhouses of the U.S.-fabricated war. Every time they said that this was the last offensive and that with this offensive we would reach Karbala. However, now after scores of offensives and the deaths and disabling of hundreds of thousands of the toiling masses' children, the devastation of scores of towns and villages, and billions of material losses, those who claim to export the revolution have not come even one step closer to Karbala.

The Islamic regime's leaders and authorities who are witnessing the hatred and outrage of the broad masses of people are again striving--by false promises about a final victory in the war and the conquest of Karbala--to reduce as much as they can the escalation of the people's just protests against the futile death of scores of thousands of Iranian youths and youngsters, and even the children of the million-strong toilers of our homeland, caused by the Islamic regime during the recent offensives. For this purpose the gentlemen, this time, sent an Iraqi puppet by the name of Ayatollah Hakim to the pulpit to read the first sermon.

Currently all our people are fed up with the war--whether it is a blitzkrieg or a long-term war of attrition. The people do not want to send hundreds of thousands of their youths and youngsters to the slaughterhouses any longer

because they have not gained and are not gaining anything from this war except death, famine, homelessness and misery. Amid all this it is only a handful of dependent capitalists and clergy ruling over the Islamic regime who are gaining enormous profits from the war. International imperialism, headed by America, is also in favor of prolonging this futile and destructive fratricide with the aim of selling weapons, maintaining tension in the region, ensuring its military presence, and if necessary, embarking on direct intervention. However, despite the oaths, pledges and lamentations of the Islamic regime's leaders, and their refusal to end this destructive war of attrition through the conclusion of an honorable and just peace agreement, the last word is with the people, the toilers and the true revolutionary patriotic forces. The people will utter the last word.

CSO: 4640/152

# TEHRAN RADIO REPORTS ON LATEST VICTORIES, U.S. THREATS

GF030750 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Commentary by the Research Center of the Central News Unit: "The Present Circumstances in the Latest Phase of the War"]

[Excerpts] Since some time has elapsed since the commencement of the Val-Fajr VI operation and the large-scale Khaybar operation, we will briefly review the recent victories of the Islamic combatants, the results and effects on the aggressive Iraqi regime, and its active and passive supporters. [Passage omitted giving details of past operations, casualties]

Regarding the advance of the Islamic forces into Iraqi territory and their occupation of certain important and strategic areas as reported in the communiques and the news disseminated by the military circles of our country until now, the Majnun Islands with vast petroleum resources along with tens of small and large villages and other strategic areas which, according to Mr Hashemi-Rafsanajani, the spokesman for the Supreme Defense Council, are "the key to our future operations," have been occupied by the forces of monotheism and the important transport route of the Basra-Al-'amran Highway has been under the fire of our combatants. By cutting off the links of this highway, the ruling regime of Baghdad had to face major upsets and this regime was forced to make a detour of hundreds of extra kilometers to gain access to the northern and southern areas of its fronts. In view of the aforementioned facts, it may be said that the infidel Saddam regime has moved a step closer to its imminent downfall and in such circumstances, he should expect retribution for his brutal acts such as the bombing and missile attacks on residential areas, the genocide of civilians of the martyr-nurturing people on the one hand, and the attempt to expand the scope of the war to all the countries of the region and provide a foothold for the oppressive powers to return on the other.

The other dastardly and inhuman act of Saddam is the use of chemical weapons although ever since the World War I their use has been banned and prohibited by all international organizations, including the United Nations and its affiliated bodies, and all the nations of the world in various resolutions and charters. In the past few months, the Iraqi regime has repeatedly used them and our country has presented positive and irrefutable documents of this to international sources and these documents which have been exhibited to the people of the world.



The higher echelons of our country have repeatedly stated that Iran has no expansionist designs but is desirous of a conciliatory existence with the other Gulf countries, and if the other countries of the Gulf wish to live in a region of peace and security, it is preferable that they halt their aid to the Saddam regime. The prime minister, Mr Musavi, referring to this point at the conclusion of the cabinet meeting held last Wednesday said: If the nations of the region are perceptive then they know that durable peace of the region is not possible without the uprooting of Saddam. The oppressive powers spearheaded by the criminal United States, with their military presence in the Persial Gulf and in the proximity of the Strait of Hormuz, have once again violated the undisputed rights of the countries of the region. This threat has reached the point whereby the U.S. administration has given itself the right to announce in a communique to the nations that an area of 5-mile radius around and 2,00 (?feet) [as received] under its naval fleet as its own territory and has specified that the right of overflight by aircraft in the area is subsequent to prior notice to the fleet.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman said in this regard: The presence of U.S. naval vessels thousands of miles away from U.S. soil is tantamount to aggression and blackmail of the countries of the nation and support of the aggressive and defeated Iraqi regime. The mass media of oppression, which have denied the victories of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Khaybar operation, have been forced to admit the victories of the Islamic combatants after a few days and the coming to light of the facts and have, one after another, admitted to the occupation of the Majnun Islands and many other strategic points by the Islamic forces.

CSO: 4640/151

IRP ORGAN WARNS AGAINST U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN GULF

GF151313 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 1 Mar 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Crisis in the Crises-Creating Countries"]

[Excerpt] The world situation today has changed in a way that the crises-creating countries are themselves facing crises. This is a most suitable situation and definitely, it has been the will of God that it should be so, so that the oppressed nations of the world could rise against the oppressors and drag them toward destruction. The helplessness of the United States in Lebanon, involvement of the arch-Satan in Latin America, the ignominious setback of the arch-Satan in Iran, the defeat of the joint East-West plots against the Islamic Revolution, the defeat of the Soviet invading army in Afghanistan, severe clashes between the leaders of the two powers on the question of taking stands in foreign affairs and gaining power, a severe economic crises in England and France, the truckers' strike in France and Italy, and hundreds of other problems which are at present facing the control-seekers of the East and West. All of these difficulties may keep the satonic powers so busy that they may not have time to think about their expansionist schemes or to enter the arena with thoroughly meditated calculations.

Crushing incidents of the recent years have so strongly hit the satonic powers and caused such confusion among them that they have not so far been able to evaluate the present day world situation and their own position in the present day world. They have no knowledge of the new weapon which has entered the military and political battlefields--the decisive and forceful weapon of Lebanon. This weapon has proved that no other weapon, however sophisticated, can compete with it. This weapon is now in the hands of the Muslim nations and it was on this account that the respected leader of the Islamic Revolution, the day before yesterday, said: If the Muslims unite, they will form a power and none of the present day powers will be like that power. The reason is that a population of 1 billion having faith is different than a population of 1 billion, or even 100 billion, which has no faith.

The world situation also has changed in view of the great movement which has taken place among the Muslims. The satanic powers should change their calculations in their confrontation not only with the Muslims, but also with the non-Muslims. The weapon of military intervention on which the satanic powers have been relying so far is now rusted and has become useless. The fact is

that neither the United States, nor the Soviet Union nor any other power can face the nations. It is because of this very delicate point which is beyond the understanding of the oppressors, that in spite of all the bragging and and reciting of the epic verses of the arch-Satan there is not the slightest doubt that this mother of the mischief of the century is destined to be defeated everywhere, including in the Persian Gulf. This fact has now been admitted by the Western press also, although inwardly they do not wish to say so. They have warned the United States about the consequences of its intervention in the Persian Gulf.

It would therefore be better if the residents of the White House come to themselves and think about the facts a little so that they can make some wise decisions. Reagan and his similar-thinking followers should pay attention to the words of the London TIMES which has always defended the interests of the United States and its allies and even now, in sympathy with the United States, has warned its leaders. They should pay attention to the following words of the London TIMES:

"The results of defeat of the United States in the Persian Gulf would be incalculable."

"Lebanon has shown that the United States cannot carry out its threats."

"The hidden nightmares of the Persian Gulf would be more dreadful than the present nightmares of Lebanon."

If this warning is not sufficient for Reagan and his administration, then he must take his chances in the Persian Gulf also. The Persian Gulf might become a good graveyard for aggressors.

CSO: 4640/150

# MONTAZERI COMMENTS ON UNIVERSITIES' ROLE IN POLITICS

LD071429 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 7 Mar 84

[Excerpts] Members of Elections HQ of the Bureau for Strengthening Unity at the Universities' Islamic Societies [setad-e entekhabati-ye daftar-e tahkim-e vahdat-e anjoman-haye eslami-ye daneshgah-ha], yesterday, met Ayatollah Montazeri and submitted a report on the performance of the bureau and the results of the recent comments made by the Imam of the ummah at the universities.

Then while praising them, Ayatollah Montazeri said: One of the issues that our students should give special attention to is the scientific aspect of the universities [as heard].

Referring to the universities' interference in politics, namely the elections, he said: It is the right of our committed, alert students to be involved in the country's political issues, namely the elections, and express their views.

He stressed: As the clergy feel that it is their duty to be involved in and express their views on the political issues of the society, the university should feel the same. In fact, when dealing with political issues and matters relating to the revolution, the people look to the clergy as well as the universities and respect the views of both. There is a famous story that fools either too much or too little. The involvement of the clergy and the universities should not go to those extremes. As it would be wrong to think that the clergy and the universities should not interfere in politics, it would also be wrong for the universities and the clergy to interfere in political issues, namely in the elections in such a way as to consider themselves the people's guardians.

Regarding the various needs at the various Majlis committees, he said: One of the points that all the sides contemplating putting candidates forward should note is the diversity of Majlis. For example, all or a decisive majority of the deputies should not be, say clergy, doctors, or a particular class.

CSO: 4640/148

## BRIEFS

SCHOOLCHILDREN AS SOLDIERS--According to reports received from reliable resources, Ruhollah Khomeyni intended to let the schools remain closed after the Nowruz holidays and to send millions of young children to the warfront by force. After revelation of this horrible news, the resulting expression of hatred against this dreadful and inhuman intention of Ruhollah Khomeyni by the people of the world, the Islamic Republic has turned back on this decision and its embassy in Paris issued a statement contradicting this report. The announcement by the embassy said it was not a final decision to close down the schools and to send the children to the warfronts. It may be recalled that thousands of young men and innocent schoolchildren who were slaughtered by the mullahs in neutralizing the mined fields, a number of them are now living in Iraqi camps as prisoners of war, and most of them are below (?15) years in age. [Text] [GF090754 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 8 Mar 84]

'RUSH TO BUY FOOD' REPORTS--The rush by the people of our homeland to large stores and supermarkets to purchase food and store it has increased. It is being forecasted that the rush will intensify further in the next few days, especially in Tehran and other large cities. According to reports by our correspondents in Tehran and a number of other large Iranian cities, the threat by Baghdad to bombard Khark, cut off Iranian shipping lines, and the readiness of superpowers to carry out military operations in the Persian Gulf, together with the inability of Ayatollah Khomeyni and his mullahs to supply public needs should the war intensify, will immerse the country into a stage of critical shortages. According to our correspondents, people are using their coupons more than any other time, under the pretext of new year's shopping. [Text] [GF112000 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 11 Mar 84]

CSO: 4640/149



## BRIEFS

FRENCH AMBASSADOR--Kathmandu, 11 Mar (AFP)--France's new ambassador to Nepal, Lionel de Warren, arrived here today. He was welcomed by Major General Rishi Kumar Pandey, the military secretary to King Birendra, B. P. Rimal, the chief of protocol of the Nepalese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other officials of the French Embassy in Kathmandu. Mr. De Warren will present his credentials to King Birendra in next two weeks. [Text] [BK111640 Hong Kong AFP in English 1626 GMT 11 Mar 84]

UK MINISTER ARRIVES--Lady Young, minister of state in Britain's foreign and commonwealth office, arrived in Kathmandu this afternoon on a 4-day visit to Nepal. Lady Young was welcomed at Tribhuvan International Airport by Minister of State for Social Welfare and Tourism Shree Prashad Budhathoki. Lady Young will participate in the inauguration day after tomorrow of (Pathan-Dhankuta) road built with British cooperation. She will meet Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chang tomorrow. [Text] [BK131533 Kathmandu External Service in English 1450 GMT 13 Mar 84]

CSO: 4600/427

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING MRD AGITATION DISCUSSED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 5 Feb 84 p 6

[Report by Mukhtar Aqil: "Lesson Should Be Learned From History to Remember Geography"]

[Text] The exhausted MRD caravan is involved in new contradictions after slowing its fast pace. When the people in jails see the newspaper statements of party officials they recall the bad days when they went to jail and the local city cadre leaders got the chance to act as party officials. This has reached the point where information secretary of the defunct NDP [National Democratic Party] Abid Zuberi has disclosed that his party secretary, Haji Sher Khan, does not know English. During his recent visit to Karachi, the secretary general of the defunct Tehrik-e Istiqhal (T.I.), Suleyman Khohar, was also critical of the situation. He said that acting party officials magnify their leadership by giving press statements while others sacrifice and go to jail. During this MRD campaign, some party leaders clung so firmly to their offices that they continued in their positions even though the actual leaders were out of jail. When the chief of the defunct TI, Sayed Munir Shah, went to jail, J. A. Rahim became the chief, and now that Sayed Munir Shah is out of jail, Rahim continues as the acting chief of the defunct TI, while it is known that he is not even a member of the party. God knows better. On the other hand, the people in and out of prison have opinions about the leaders who have been released--that they got out after making apologies. Many people coming out of jail have taken an oath that they did not make any apology in exchange for freedom but people are skeptical about this, and officials in particular are concerned that their bright days are over and darkness lies ahead. One Abdul Wahid Soomro of the defunct Peoples Party [PPP] in Larkana has formally claimed that on 21 December, Suraiya Baluch and Farida Khanum were released from Karachi Central Prison after being called to martial law headquarters, but on 15 August 1983 three women leaders, Begum Shamim N. D. Khan, Ruquia Khanum and Noorjahan Soomro, who were arrested along with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Mairaj Mohammad Khan, were sent back to jail when they refused to make apologies. These women are suffering from bad eyesight and teeth and blood diseases. They are not even hospitalized and if the government cannot afford to treat them, they should be released so that they can get medical treatment at their own expense. The suggestion seems reasonable; however, its implementation depends on the will of the government. Of the four points on which the MRD initiated its movement, the demand that

political prisoners be released is being intensified. In this respect, the argument is made that if political leaders and workers are not released soon, then the people disappointed by the outcome of the campaign may adopt another path. In particular in Sind, on the grounds of a sense of deprivation, the political opportunists will have a chance to exploit the situation in their favor. Now G. M. Sayed is not the only champion of Sind autonomy and freedom; an influential group of the defunct PPP led by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Abdul Hafiz Pirzada has also appeared in the forefront with the slogan of confederation. After a break in the MRD campaign, new questions are popping up in the national political life. The factional feuding in the defunct PPP has developed into a constitutional war. A member of the defunct PPP Steering Committee, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, has issued a statement on 12th Rabi-ul-Awwal [6 December] from Karachi Central Prison in which he urges that past grievances be forgotten and Pakistan be saved through the spirit of Islam, repeating the four points of MRD, he demands restoration of the 1973 constitution, general elections, an end to martial law and the release of political prisoners. This statement was vehemently welcomed by moderate circles of MRD and in particular by the defunct PPP. In addition imprisoned and detained leaders in different jails of Sind, assembly members associated with the former ruling party in the Muachh jail of Baluchistan, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Abdul Sattar Bachani, Sayed Mazharul Haq, Mushtaq Ali Bhutto, Ghulam Qadir Bhutto, Qazi Abdul Gani, Agha Saif-uddin, Zafar Ali Laghari, Ghulam Ulla Mahuto, advocate Ahmad Nawaz, Mohammad Fazil, Ayaz Soomro and Manzoor Wasan of the SPAF [Sind People's Students Federation], Fazal Rahoo of the Sind People's Movement, President of the Karachi Bar Association Abdul Hafiz Lakhoo and 46 political prisoners in Hayderabad Central Prison, former member of the provincial assembly Mohammad Usman Kennedy in Khairpur jail and his associates and Amir Hyder Kazmi and his associates in Karachi Central Prison have supported the statement, acknowledging it as a policy statement, and have also expressed their consent to the points raised in the statement. The vice chairman of the defunct PPP, Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman Talibul Moula, and Makhdoom Amin Fahim have also supported the statement. To counter this increasing support for Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's statement, another member of the steering committee of the defunct PPP and a conventional political rival of Mr Jatoi's, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, has come to the forefront with the weapons of confederation and provincial autonomy. The 10 points in his concept of confederation include the following: 1) restoration, preservation and security for democracy, 2) constitutional supremacy and the rule of law, 3) guaranteed basic human rights and freedoms, 4) freedom from military rule and military supremacy, 5) rights of provinces as free, autonomous and separate states, 6) no domination or abrogation of the rights of one province by another or others, 7) no exploitation of the wealth, resources and opportunities of one province or provinces by any other, 8) the guaranteed welfare, prosperity and development of every province, 9) removal of all doubts and misunderstandings among provinces, and 10) friendly and fraternal relations among provinces. It is suggested in the document that in order to implement these 10 points it is imperative that Pakistan be under a confederate structure (interstate-federal framework). The Pakistan Resolution of 23 March 1940 has been cited as a basis for these points. This 10-point document issued by Mumtaz Bhutto is gaining popularity among youth in and outside

of prison. People have connected the links of these points to the provincial autonomy included in the 4-point program of Miss Benazir Bhutto, which she issued on her departure for abroad. These circles say that this program of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto is not only approved by Benazir Bhutto but also has the support of her mother, Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, and Abdul Hafiz Pirzada. According to these circles, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto now does not need to form a new party in order to implement his ideas. And he has already cleared his position through his wife, Meriam Bhutto. Now the game will be played within the defunct PPP. The period of contention has begun. On the one hand, support for the 12th Rabi-ul-Awwal statement of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi is continued; on the other, the enthusiastic party workers have begun support for Miss Benazir and Mumtaz Bhutto on the issue of provincial autonomy. The 46 former assembly members and party leaders imprisoned in Karachi Central Prison who have supported this stand also include Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Abdul Fateh Memon, Sayed Shabbir Ahmad Shah, Qazi Mohammad Bakhsh Dhanda, Sikander Ali Chandio, Hussain Shah Bukhari, Abdul Ghafoor Nizamani, Altaf Bhio, Rahim Bakhsh Jamali, Najmuddin Sheikh, Rasool Bakhsh Memon, Abdullah Shah Bukhari, Faiz Mohammad Qureshi, Sheikh Noorul Huda, Ali Jam Panhoor Malik Maqsood and Mohsin Raza. These leaders said that they vigorously welcome the instruction for the struggle for provincial autonomy given by Benazir Bhutto. Provincial autonomy has become a need of the downtrodden masses and Miss Benazir Bhutto has reflected the will of the oppressed masses by speaking about provincial autonomy. This view, which is being expressed now openly, was adopted by a circle of the party just after the end of PPP rule and the hanging of the founder chairman. In 1979, the leaders of the defunct PPP, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, had an important meeting with Mir Ghau Baukhsh Bizenjo. Thereafter, the two pro-confederation politicians continued their meetings with Sardar Attaullah Mengal during their stay in London. At that point, a resolution on confederation was formulated and it was also said to have been signed by these leaders. Sardar Attaullah Mengal had also written a lengthy letter to former vice chancellor of Sind University and distinguished intellectual Prof Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah in which he wrote that Baluchis and Sindhis are one geographically and culturally and there is no difference between them. If confederation between the four provinces of Pakistan is not feasible, then we should form a confederation of Sind and Baluchistan. According to one report he also sent similar letters to other intellectuals and politicians in Sind and Baluchistan.

G. M. Sayed and Sardar Attaullah Mengal are not the only leaders who demand provincial autonomy, but a powerful faction of the defunct PPP, after being disappointed in the outcome of the MRD campaign, has also started thinking along this line. To some extent, Mr Mumtaz Bhutto has succeeded in gaining the support of this faction. He is among the 272 detained and jailed political prisoners in Karachi Central Prison, with whom he is in contact. But Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, following his house arrest, has been detained in Gharo rest house and Karachi Prison rest house, so he has had no contact with the party leaders and workers since his arrest on 15 August. According to one report, before his arrest he had assured the moderate landlords of the party that his arrest would not last more than 15 days and "we will be in power soon." Many landlords knew of his special relationship with the

government, as these contacts were very useful during the period of crisis. And after the change of 5 July 1977, he was excluded from any accountability or being declared incompetent. The landlords were thus sure that the government was not against Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. Even though they had never gone to jail before, they did not hesitate to go when called upon to do so. But when the period of imprisonment dragged on, the former ministers and assembly members who had offered themselves for arrest were disappointed. As a result, one party leader associated with the Jatoi group, Sayed Shabbir Ahmed Shah, who belongs to Nawabshah, is now singing the song of provincial autonomy after having joined hands with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto.

In this age of wisdom and knowledge, any nation without a constitution for a long period is like a piece of land never plowed for long, with weeds disfiguring its face. For the first time in our 36 years of national life we had a unanimously adopted constitution in 1973, one which has been in abeyance for the last 7 years. We should not be surprised if in this period without a constitution, new documents and manifestos spring up. Because this has been the history of nations, and the nations who forget their history cannot maintain their geographical identity. Great nations remember both their history and their geography.

12601

CSO: 4656/94



## COMMENTARY ON POLITICAL UNREST IN BANGLADESH

GF091636 Karachi DAWN in English 4 Mar 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Bangladesh: Moment to Pause and Ponder"]

[Text] The general strike in Bangladesh on Thursday and the clash between the police and the demonstrators in Dhaka have conclusively proved that political polarisation in that country, especially the schism between the government and the 2 major alliances of 22 political parties, is leading to increased violence. The opposition has now called for a day of mourning on Monday and this could touch off more violent incidents. It is evident that the vicious cycle of demonstrations, police suppression and violence will have to be broken if a reasonably good measure of stability and order is to be maintained in Bangladesh. The stick-and-carrot strategy so far adopted by President Ershad has not paid off. He has tried to make a few concessions to appease the opposition, but has handled public demonstrations and strikes with a firm hand. The concessions have, however, not gone far enough and have generally come too late to be regarded as well meant. Predictably, the two major opposition alliances have remained unmoved and refused to change their stance. General Ershad appeared flexible enough to invite all the opposition leaders for talks with the government and last week in a major climb-down he announced that the elections for the president and the parliament will be held simultaneously on 27 May. Political activities are to be allowed from 26 March. The president has also moved away from his earlier position that the armed forces would be given a constitutional role in Bangladesh's new political system. But these moves have not had any softening effect on the 7-party alliance led by Begum Khaleda Zia and the 15-party grouping of Sheikh Hasina Wajed which have been adamant in demanding that the parliamentary elections should precede the presidential polls and the Upa-Zilla (subdistricts) elections be cancelled altogether. The leaders of the opposition parties refused to participate in the dialogue President Ershad held with other politicians. The campaign which they have now launched against the government goes to show that the confrontation between the opposition and the military government has assumed serious proportions.

It is now obvious that the government cannot win the opposition's cooperation by measures in installments and belatedly announced. Only an open dialogue between the government and the opposition parties with significant popular following and influence can ease the situation in the country. Last week's

strike should leave no one in doubt about the popular following and allegiance that these leaders command. The opposition leaders would, however, establish their political acumen if they do not take to agitational methods in an indiscriminate spirit and as the only weapon in their armoury. Too rigid an attitude could lead to massive confrontation which would be undesirable in a country where the people are known to be politically volatile and which can hardly afford another spell of destabilisation. General Ershad has managed to mobilise support in some sections of the population. Thus, there are progovernment forces in the universities, and campus violence has not always been the result of opposition groups inciting students against the government. Factional rivalries among students have also taken their own toll. The Upa-Zillas are also reported to have received considerable public support and 2,285 nominations have been filed for the 460 posts of chairmen of these councils, in spite of the opposition's call for a boycott. The differences in approach among the major political parties are also likely to weaken their positions in the long run. Although at present their views converge on the issues of holding of parliamentary elections ahead of the other polls, lifting of martial law, early restoration of political activities and release of political prisoners, there is serious disagreement among them on a basic matter like the political system the country should have. Besides, they have not chalked out any clear-cut political programme or economic strategy. In such a situation the opposition parties would be expected to play their hands very wisely indeed. A move towards conciliation when the circumstances are auspicious for it would be in the interest of all concerned--the government, the opposition and, of course, the country at large.

CSO: 4600/426

FAILURE OF TALKS WITH INDIA, PATH TO LESSENERD TENSION AIRED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Jan 84 p 3

[Column by Irshad Ahmed Haqqani]

[Text] An Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman said that no date has yet been announced for holding talks on the foreign minister level to consider a "non-aggression pact" proposed by Pakistan or "the draft treaty on friendship and peace" offered by India. He said that it may not be possible now to announce a date for the talks and added that until an agreement is reached on economic cooperation and until mutual confidence between the two countries is strengthened, it will not be possible to make any progress in the talks on "nonaggression" or on "friendship and peace."

The Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement could in a way be interpreted as closing the door on talks on the above-mentioned subjects and also gives the impression that whatever progress that may have been achieved in this area over the past two and a quarter years may now have been erased. To tell the truth, right after Pakistan proposed a nonaggression pact in September 1981, India's attitude was not very encouraging. It is believed that India thought that Pakistan, finding itself in a very difficult position because of the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, proposed a nonaggression pact with India as a solution to its dilemma. In addition, India also believed that with the restoration of relations with the United States and the conclusion of a \$3.2-billion aid package, Pakistan may have offered a nonaggression pact with India to silence its objections and so that it could have good relations with India until it had fully modernized its army. One of the reasons for India's turning a cold shoulder was that New Delhi, seeing that the Soviet Union was not happy with Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan, and as an ally and friend of Moscow, did not want to enter into a nonaggression pact with Pakistan as that would enable the latter to focus all of its attention on its northwestern border. These are the reasons that were mainly responsible for the cold reception accorded to Pakistan's proposal by India. India, in order to protect itself from the criticism of world opinion, did not reject Pakistan's proposals outright but started asking Pakistan for explanations and putting forward counter-proposals. More than anything else, India wanted to know whether Pakistan was ready to enter into a nonaggression pact without resolving the Kashmir issue or without establishing machinery to resolve it. India believed that since Pakistan's position all along had been that a

nonaggression pact with India could not be signed until the Kashmir issue was settled, Pakistan would not be prepared to conclude a nonaggression pact and India could use that as an excuse to reject consideration of Pakistan's proposal. But contrary to India's expectations, Pakistan stated that it would not make solution of the Kashmir issue a condition for signing the nonaggression pact, that it would not demand machinery for resolving the Kashmir issue and that it would not demand that the Kashmir issue be settled before the pact was signed.

Even though the position taken by Pakistan made it impossible for India to reject Pakistan's proposals for talks, India remained adamant in its suspicion of Pakistan's actions and the change in Pakistan's traditional position on Kashmir designed to give India the impression that Pakistan was willing to conclude a nonaggression pact at any cost, when in fact, despite its willingness to hold talks, it was not really desirous of making any progress in the talks. According to India, giving in to Pakistan's offer was equivalent to playing Pakistan's cards and helping it achieve its goals. This writer repeatedly stated at the time that India would not be prepared to sign a negative agreement that would make Pakistan feel secure about its eastern borders and relieve it from its two-front dilemma resulting from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Moscow's reported unhappiness with Pakistan's attitude with respect to this issue. If India were to solve Pakistan's problem, it could only be in return for its demand that Pakistan accept its philosophy of bilateralism and start implementing it. The bilateralism that India would like to see Pakistan accept is that Islamabad will not only refrain from bringing the Kashmir dispute before any international forum but that it will also give special importance to India's advice on foreign relations and defense matters. To see whether Pakistan is willing to accept bilateralism as desired by India, as opposed to Pakistan's proposal for a nonaggression pact, it offered its draft treaty for peace and friendship. Neither government has issued any official clarification about the issue in question, but it is believed that Pakistan objected to two of the articles in India's draft treaty. One of these was the philosophy of bilateralism and the other India's suggestion that both countries pledge and declare that they will not allow any foreign power to establish military bases on their territory. With these two articles, India wanted to make sure that Pakistan would give due importance to India's views while determining its foreign and defense policies. This can also be taken to indicate that on the Afghanistan issue, Pakistan would adopt the attitude favored by India and with respect to its relations with the United States would adopt a policy considered to be appropriate by India and in conformity with the best interests of the sub-continent.

These were the two articles of the Indian draft treaty that hindered progress. India was not willing to proceed further without receiving definite assurances from Pakistan, and the latter, on its part, could not give such assurances because that would be tantamount to a negation of its national independence. This was the real obstacle that prevented the normalization of relations between the two countries and the conclusion of a nonaggression pact. To put it plainly, it means that by making Pakistan accept its proposals about



bilateralism and the refusal to allow foreign powers from establishing military bases on its soil, India wants Pakistan to follow its advice in determining regional and international policies. In other words, Pakistan should accept India's superiority in the region and at the same time acknowledge that whatever India's stand or the policy it adopts in the field of foreign affairs is in the best interest of the subcontinent. It may also be said that India would be willing to sign a nonaggression treaty with Pakistan and save it from its two-front dilemma only after making it acknowledge its [India's] superiority.

The Indian Government has never explained its intentions in the words described by this writer. But there appears to be no doubt whatsoever among knowledgeable circles of both sides as to its real intent and purpose in this regard. We, too, know very well what India really wants and what its demands are. At the beginning of this year, when I was in New Delhi in connection with the conference of nonaligned nations, I had an opportunity to discuss these issues with Indian intellectuals and journalists. In particular I had detailed talks and exchanged views with Mr K. Subramaniam, distinguished Indian scholar and chairman of the Indian Institute of Strategic Industries. He was the leader of his delegation at the conference and this is indicative of his importance. This is the same Mr Subramaniam who in 1971 said that India had a golden opportunity of the century and that it should take advantage of the situation in East Pakistan. During a lengthy meeting, he told me in clear and unambiguous terms that if Pakistan is not prepared to accept the philosophy of bilateralism and India's proposal for refusing to allow military bases for foreign powers, then we should not talk about a treaty of nonaggression. He said that in such a case it would be absolutely impossible to agree on a nonaggression pact. During further talks, he said that more important than India's insistence on bilateralism is Pakistan's clear-cut assurance to India that it will not permit military bases of any foreign power on its soil. He said that India was not prepared to compromise on this point. Finally, to gain an insight into their thinking, I asked them why they were so frightened about U.S. bases on our soil when Pakistan is prepared to promise that it will not give bases to anyone and our position all along has been that we have not given bases to anyone so far, so why should India insist on a written pledge and a formal announcement to that effect.

Mr Subramaniam replied to my question in great detail and explained India's stand. He said that they have no objection to Pakistan acquiring any amount of arms and equipment from the United States, but if in return for these arms you assist them in their strategic designs, then our anxiety increases. Pakistan's assistance, he said, could also take the form of providing them with bases without announcing it, thus involving the subcontinent in the struggle of the superpowers. I asked him if their treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union does not involve the subcontinent in the struggle of the superpowers and create the same dangers in the region that according to him are created as a result of friendship between Pakistan and the United States. His reply was that whether Pakistan would admit it or not, the equation between India and the Soviet Union was not the same as that



between Pakistan and the United States. He said that compared with Pakistan, India is a bigger country and will not allow facilities on its soil to be used by the Soviets to further their world design. Mr Subramaniam added that Pakistan's case is quite different. According to Mr Subramaniam, Pakistan is vulnerable and can get involved very easily with the U.S. regional defense policies, and this can result in direct access for the United States to the internal affairs of the subcontinent. I told him that granting that his supposition is correct and that Pakistan does give some facilities to the United States, how could that endanger India when it is Pakistan that would actually be faced with danger because it is Pakistan that will become the target of the superpowers' struggle. I asked him if he thinks that the United States would use the facilities provided by Pakistan against India, to which Mr Subramaniam replied that India knows very well that the United States would never attack it but if the superpowers were to clash near India's borders, then it would be affected and Pakistan would be responsible for bringing the superpowers to its doors.

In response to my further questions, Mr Subramaniam, continuing his conversation, said that the reason for their concern about the facilities provided by Pakistan to the United States is not only that this would bring the superpower struggle to their doors but a second, more important, reason is that out of arrogance or misunderstanding, or encouraged by its relations with the United States, and furthermore necessitated by circumstances stemming from the internal situation, Pakistan might feel compelled to take some kind of military action against India. Mr Subramaniam said that India has had such experience in the past and has its apprehensions for the future and as a result will not sign any nonaggression pact with Pakistan until it is satisfied that the relationship between Pakistan and the United States does not exceed a certain limit. Noting that this is what underlies their insistence on a joint official announcement about not allowing any foreign power to establish military bases, he said that India does not wish to dominate Pakistan and that India would not have any objection to Pakistan acquiring any amount of arms and military equipment from the United States so long as it does not get involved in its military policies. I asked him why India does not believe our statement that we are paying for the arms that we are getting from the United States and that we are not asking for any favors, any quid pro quo, from it in return. He said that if that were really true, then why doesn't Pakistan declare that it has no intention of providing bases to foreign powers? I said this would mean a negation of our national sovereignty and in the event of an unexpected situation would inhibit our freedom of action. He said that India does not want such a declaration from Pakistan alone but that India, too, is prepared to do the same. He said that if making such an announcement does not affect India's sovereignty how could it affect Pakistan's sovereignty. He added that if Pakistan refuses to give such an assurance on the grounds that it does not know what the future may have in store for it, then there must be something wrong somewhere and this increases their suspicion. Mr Subramaniam also claimed that as there is military government in Pakistan, the possibility that our relationship with the United States may be taking a special turn becomes still more greater and this increases India's anxieties still further.

This is the real state of affairs between India and Pakistan. As the former does not acknowledge this argument officially, it has not been possible for the two countries to come closer together. The Government of Pakistan is determined to continue its efforts even though India is unwilling and keeps on hindering the progress of the talks. The reason for India's line of action is that since Pakistan is not prepared to conclude a treaty on these lines, which it does not consider necessary, India thinks it is meaningless to continue the drama of negotiations. The growing insistence of Pakistan that the talks continue, compared with the lack of interest on the part of India, shows that the latter believes that continued talks, even though unfruitful, serve Pakistan's interests, and India does not want Pakistan to benefit from them in any way. The recent statements by President Ziaul Haq and Mrs Indira Gandhi reflect the positions taken by the two governments. President Zia, in an interview with the Indian journal DELHI RECORD, used a more conciliatory tone than ever. He said that India cannot have a stronger supporter and a better well-wisher than himself in Pakistan, and he added that if there was someone else, he was prepared to include him on his team. No head of state in Pakistan could possibly express his good wishes in stronger terms. In striking contrast, Mrs Gandhi has been talking about war preparations in Pakistan, its designs and the dangers India faces from these with an intensity greater than ever. She has continuously and repeatedly alleged that these arms and military equipment, which are beyond and above the normal requirements of Pakistan, are intended for use against India. Despite criticism from some political and journalistic quarters, there has been no change in her attitude and she continues to advance the same rhetoric. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, too, continues to blow hot and cold in the same breath. The Soviet attitude reveals that Moscow, too, wants Pakistan to adopt a stand that would decrease its difficulties and enable it to disentangle itself easily from the Afghan quagmire, and if Pakistan does not change its position, then the Soviet Union will not hesitate to adopt other means. It appears that the one thing that is forcing the Soviets to adopt a cautious attitude is the impression that even though Pakistan is ready to enter into a treaty with the United States, the latter is not allowing it to do so. Pakistan, because of its policy toward Afghanistan, has constantly denied the presence of any U.S. pressure. Despite this, the Soviet Union has not changed its views, and its stand has been that the United States, without declaring a war, has turned Pakistan into a base against the present government in Afghanistan.

This situation naturally causes grave concern to the people of Pakistan, and their anxiety increases still further when they see that on the domestic front the government and the political forces continue to be arrayed against each other. In Pakistan, some circles demand the restoration of democracy while others have gone a step further in their demands. This is exemplified by Baluchi leader Akhbar Bugti's statement that the day is not far off when the need to use Urdu as an interconnecting dialect will no longer exist. However disagreeable and misleading we may call this statement, it is not easy to disregard the chain of arguments on which it is based. We must consider this statement very carefully and try to understand what Mr Bugti is trying to say. We do not even have the courage to comment on his statement.

But it is necessary to take certain measures to counteract the effects of the conditions now spotlighted by him. The measure that tops the list is that a feeling should be created in political circles in all of the provinces that they, too, have a share in the country's power and authority and that they will not be deprived repeatedly of this power by martial law. Incidentally, this happens to be a measure that can also effectively counteract external dangers, particularly the one created as a result of the obstinate stand adopted by India. Our armed forces are very patriotic and loyal, and they will defend our beloved country with all their strength. But it is our strong conviction that if today an elected government were to come into power, then it will not be possible for India to continue its antagonistic policy or at least continue it with the same intensity. World opinion looks upon an elected government from a different angle and it becomes relatively quite difficult to adopt an antagonistic policy toward such a government.

The present government has before it a certain plan and a certain program for restoring democracy. If, keeping in mind the internal conditions and external dangers, it is prepared to review it and lift martial law as soon as possible, then the overall situation becomes significantly less serious and less severe. There is no doubt that the present government has taken all necessary measures to preserve national security against the Soviet Union and India. It has apparently brought the internal situation under control. At the same time, it is also true that as far as internal and external affairs are concerned the government is as it were walking on a tightrope and if any of its expectation prove to be wrong, difficulties can be created for the whole nation. It would be much better if instead of following the present policy of brinkmanship the government adopted a policy of understanding and general concurrence that would not only help to normalize the internal atmosphere but at the same time bring about a considerable decrease in external problems. In our opinion, nothing can be more disappointing and disagreeable to our internal and external adversaries than the fact that Pakistan is proceeding toward the goal of internal political understanding, the best example of which is immediate elections. No one can doubt the patriotism of the people in power. Will they heed the call of the times and embark on a program that people every bit as patriotic as themselves have continuously called on them to implement?

9315

CSO: 4656/73

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GULF WAR

GF131255 Karachi DAWN in English 9 Mar 84 p 7

[Editorial: "A Grave Matter"]

[Text] The Iranian Government's request to the United Nations to inspect what it calls Iraq's use of chemical weapons on civilian areas calls attention to a matter of grave concern. Impartial investigations by neutral observers should help clarify the position. Iraq which has officially denied having used such weapons should welcome the move since it would help establish the truth and remove any misgivings that may have been created by Iran's allegations and the supporting statements issued by some others. Baghdad radio itself spoke of a "certain insecticide" being used by Iraq in the latest battle against Iran. The Austrian television also screened films of Iranian soldiers said to be suffering from the effects of poison gas. Perhaps, the most significant is the statement of a U.S. State Department spokesman that evidence indicates that Iraq has used "lethal chemical weapons."

Such reports are disquieting. While they underscore the urgent need for a cease-fire and peace settlement in the Gulf, they also point to the urgency of intensified international efforts to ban the use of chemical and biological weapons. One may recall here that the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases of 1925 and other conventions on biological and chemical weapons prohibit the use of chemical or biological agents intended to cause disease, death or injury to men. Yet, governments have not refrained from employing them in war. For example, chemical weapons were said to have been used in Vietnam and lately in Afghanistan.

All use of force and resort to warfare by nations is deplorable but when some weapons deployed are designed exclusively to cause indiscriminate destruction and suffering, war acquires a more ghastly dimension. Worse still, if Third World countries themselves begin using chemical and biological weapons against one another, the real developers and possessors of these means of mass slaughter would feel no moral compunction about resorting to these whenever it suited their purpose. The superpowers in particular would then feel relatively free to try out or deliberately use their newly invented devices in war theatres in the developing countries.



As the protracted Gulf war shows signs of intensification, a desperate bid by one side or the other to resort to any means, lawful or unlawful by the conventional military code, to inflict a defeat on its adversary cannot be ruled out. The latest phase in fighting which began in early February has escalated over the weeks. On the one hand, the war is inflicting untold suffering on the civilian populations on both sides as well as on the fighting forces. On the other hand, there is the danger of the theatre of the war widening and engulfing other states in the region. Even more serious is the danger of foreign intervention which is quite real today, especially if Iraq attacks Iran's oil installations or Tehran blockades the Strait of Hormuz. In that case the Americans can be expected to intervene, as they have threatened to do. What the Soviet response would be in that event is difficult to anticipate but the situation in the Gulf can be easily expected to move towards a flashpoint potentially dangerous for international peace and security.

Wisdom and enlightened self-interest require both Iran and Iraq to take account of these terrifying implications of prolonging what has so far proved to be a futile but immensely destructive war. It is time they called a halt to the spree of senseless killing and mutual destruction and foreclosed the possibility of an escalation of regional or even international dimensions.

CSO: 4600/426



TOUGHER FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD SOVIET UNION PROPOSED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 15 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Mian Abdul Rashid: "Come On, Be Ready to Fight, Don't Be Scared!"]

[Text] It is said that it is utter nonsense to encounter frequent disgrace for fear of being dishonored. For the past few years, the puppet regime in Afghanistan, at the incitement and suggestion of the Soviet Union, has formed a habit of committing many border violations against us using its air force. We protest a little by saying that we will not tolerate this again, and that we are neither weak nor alone, we have other countries in the world that side with us, etc., etc. A few members of the Advisory Council and some other individuals issue statements or protest, which are published under front-page headlines by the newspapers. These statements are relayed by and shown in radio and television newscasts and then that is the end.

At first, the Afghan Air Force committed violations of our borders only. Now, however, they have started bombing our peaceful civilians, too. Previously, instances of such violations were rare; now, however, it has become an everyday affair. The circumstantial evidence shows that day by day the Afghan Air Force will become more daring and bold. If we continue to display such weakness and gradually retreat, one day their tanks and armored vehicles will cross our borders.

Since we have adopted a policy of weakness against the Soviet Union, it is only natural and essential for the Soviets to bolster their aggressive attitude toward us. First of all, we say that we cannot fight against a superpower like the Soviet Union, and only by begging it can we try to make it agree to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan; as if the Soviet forces, hunting their prey, came over here by mistake. Why don't we understand that the Soviet Union takes these steps as part of a considered and comprehensive policy. It has established itself there. It will engage in every type of tyranny, violence and bloodshed. After that, we will be its next target. Our begging or dialogue will not gain the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan, rather, our expression of leniency and weakness will only make it more adventurous. "God helps those who help themselves."

Again, we feel that we are playing a big "trick" by obtaining economic and technical aid from the Soviet Union, and we presume that by thus enhancing our friendship with it, we will help restrain it from aggression. Recently, our minister of finance went to Moscow and returned happily with the invigorating good news of having acquired loans and technical aid from the Soviet Union. According to an English proverb, however, this is synonymous with kissing the hand that strikes you.

The truth is that we are not only destroying our own country with our weak and flattering manner, but we are encouraging people everywhere, who pursue a policy of oppression and excess. If we continue to follow this policy, we will be the first to face its consequences. You should resist a person who twists your arm. If you smile and are just contented to say that he has a habit of doing this once in a while, the next time he will strangle your neck. When the Soviet ambassador hurled invective against Pakistan while residing here, he should have been declared "persona non grata" and expelled from the country; instead, we attend his official functions and invite him to meetings of our private institutions.

First of all, we must quite saying or believing that we cannot compete with the Soviet Union. If a handful of Afghan Mujahidin, without any effective organization of sophisticated weapons, can fight the Soviet Army for the past 4 years, Pakistan is in a better position to fight Soviet forces. Second, if one day we will have to fight the Soviet Union, why do we wait for the day its forces enter our land? Why don't we deal with it while it is in Afghanistan? That region, being mountainous, is more suitable for guerrilla warfare. Besides, fighting is already going on there now, and whatever destruction could have been brought about there has already taken place. It would be better, therefore, if the decisive war with the Soviet Union were fought there. In the future, if the Afghan Air Force crosses our frontier, they should be dealt with fully, and by following them to the end, they should be taught a lesson they will remember forever.

God commands, "How many a small force has triumphed over a large force by Allah's command! (provided that those in the minority are steadfast). And Allah is with the steadfast." (2:249)

In the Sura Alhaj, He says, "Allah defends those who believe. Surely Allah loves not any one who is perfidious or ungrateful." (And these are the very people who are against the Muslims.)

"Permission (to fight) is given to those against whom war is made, because they have been wronged, and Allah indeed has power to help them. They are those who have been driven out from their homes unjustly only because they said, 'Our Lord is Allah'-----" (Verses 38,39).

In the Sura Al-Nisa, He says, "And what is the matter with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah and of the weak men, women and children who say, 'Our Lord, take us out of this town, whose people are oppressors, and make for us some friend from Thyself, and make us from Thyself some helper'!" (Verse 75).

In the Sura Al-Anfal, while relating the conditions of the Battle of Badr, He says, "When you implored the assistance of your Lord, He answered you saying, 'I will assist you with a thousand angels, following one another.' And Allah made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts might thereby be set at rest. But help comes from Allah alone; surely Allah is mighty and wise." (Verse 10) That is, only God's support is sufficient for victory. The angels may or may not assist them in fighting. For the other party, however, Allah's wrath alone is enough for its destruction.

Every Muslim should have more confidence in Allah's promise and succor than in the aid of America, China or any other country. Nevertheless, for the sake of those who are not ready to jump into the sea without tying a rope around their waists, an analysis of the circumstances is also presented.

1. Once the Soviet Union discovers that we are determined to compete with it, it is possible that its attitude toward us and also toward Afghanistan would show leniency, because it already understands its entanglement in Afghanistan. Pakistan's challenge could considerably exacerbate the USSR's problems. At present, it cannot withdraw its army either from the border with China or from East Europe. It has a large number of forces on the frontiers of Turkey, as well. The heated war in Afghanistan can ruin its entire plan. Also, a "bully" is really a coward inside.

2. In the event of our direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, America, the European countries, China and Japan will all try to give us their full support, to insure that the Soviet Union does not succeed in advancing in this direction. It is also possible that these countries might try to create difficulties for the Soviet Union by opening up a new warfront against it from East Europe, China or Japan.

3. As far as India is concerned, both America and China will try to prevent it from attacking us from behind. In 1965, China brought its forces to the Indian border. If we had not accepted a cease-fire, China, at that time, was prepared to give us full assistance.

If India attacks us during our confrontation with the Soviet Union, America will not hesitate to fight India, because at that time, India would be fighting on behalf of the Soviet Union. If, however, our war with India is fought first, America will refrain from assisting us.

India can attack us from East Punjab or occupied Kashmir. Currently, there is an agitation of the Sikhs going on in East Punjab, and Farooq Abdullah in occupied Kashmir is against the Indian regime. Therefore, in both these regions the Indian forces would face considerable problems from the local inhabitants.

By starting a war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, we could open the path to freedom from the Soviet Union for the Soviet Muslim states of central Asia. This indeed would be a big feat. Besides, this will take the war

inside the Soviet Union itself, and it is possible that the Soviets, too, might rise against their own government.

The Soviet Union is like a huge old building whose foundation have become weak. Both its ordinary people and intellectuals are disgusted with the government because of the practical experience of communism. Just one push is all that is needed. "In short, only one strike of the sword is enough."

However, one or two things should be well understood. First, God alone is the Ruler of the universe, and even the biggest superpower is not equal to a blade of grass in front of Allah's omnipotence. One wrath of His is sufficient to reduce to ashes all tanks, planes and missiles. The entire army of the Pharoah was engulfed by the tides of the Nile. Abrah's forceful army was killed by flocks of swallows. The only thing required is faith, good intention and steadfastness.

Second, this is the era of Islam. Islam will prevail and it should prevail. False systems will perish and should perish. It is possible that God will enable us to begin this task, and through us, the Muslim countries will once again remember the long-forgotten lesson of jihad. Third, if there is a war with the Soviet Union, it will be our own war, that is, a war for our safety, plus the safety of the oppressed Muslims of Afghanistan and central Asia. It will not be a war for America. If America or any other country supports us in this war, we shall be grateful to them.

"Come on, get ready to fight, don't be afraid  
"Then see how God's help comes to you."

9779

CSO: 4656/96

EDITORIAL DECRIES THREAT TO PEACE IN REAGAN REELECTION

Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Don't Expect Peace in the World"]

[Text] President Reagan's decision to seek reelection has destroyed the hopes of those who thought that a change in the American presidency might improve world conditions. During his announcement, President Reagan remarked: "My work is not yet finished. Therefore, I have decided to seek reelection." President Ronald Reagan is 72 and the oldest candidate for the presidency in American history. Apparently, he faces no obstacles in obtaining the nomination of the Republican Party. But there are eight candidates for the Democratic Party nomination. Not one of them can match President Reagan's political stature. But the black civil rights leader, Jesse Jackson, persuaded Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad to release an American pilot whose plane had been shot down over northern Lebanon and who had been arrested after he parachuted to the ground.

In certain sectors of American politics, President Reagan is severely criticized. But despite these domestic weaknesses, no presidential candidate can rival him in popularity. But as far as international politics is concerned, no American president has been so unpopular. Even since he became president, he has been having his eye on the second term election.

Even though Jews are in a minority in America, they occupy a crucial position in American domestic politics and the Jewish vote has proved crucial in every presidential election. That is why every presidential candidate tries to please the Jews and accepts their demands even before he becomes president.

The result is that every American administration is obliged to support and safeguard Israel. During the first term of President Reagan, in an effort to safeguard Israel, America exceeded all limits and itself became a party in the Middle East. It not only landed its own forces in Lebanon but also compelled its NATO allies to send their troops as well. Thus, in its unjustified support of Israel, America made a permanent solution of Middle East problem still more remote. When Mideast freedom fighters destroyed the American and French headquarters of the so-called multinational peace force, America took out its anger by invading the tiny Caribbean republic of Grenada. This naked aggression revealed to the world the true face of Reagan's America.



By basing nuclear missiles in West Europe, Reagan took the world a step closer to the threat of nuclear war and world destruction. Now, to demonstrate his innocence, he is proposing arms reduction talks with Russia so that he will not be branded a warmonger and thus affect his presidential campaign. All over the world there are demonstrations against his policy. The basing of missiles was opposed. Emphasis was placed on taking steps to avert nuclear war. But all this had no effect on Mr Reagan.

In 1981 there was also an assassination attempt on Reagan, but in spite of his old age, he survived. According to his doctors, he is completely fit. There is nothing wrong with his health. Only the hearing in his one ear is failing day by day; he uses a hearing aid. Perhaps that is why he turns a deaf ear to all reasonable proposals for peace. He is gradually taking the world to a point of no return.

During his first term, Mr Reagan has complicated world affairs to such an extent that it will be very difficult to resolve them. If he is elected to a second term, all hopes for world peace will disappear. Presidential elections will take place on 6 November. Many a bridge is yet to be crossed. Primaries are yet to be held. Then the stage will be set for nominations, which will happen at the national conventions of the two biggest political parties in America, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Then will begin the political campaign and debates between the candidates of the two parties. During this time, as usual, the Jewish vote will play a crucial role. Under these conditions, what hope is left for peace and how can one expect anything good from Reagan?

12286

CSO: 4656/91

COMMENTARY ON CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION

GF111324 Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Feb 84 p 3

[Editorial: "The Real and Basic Issue Is of a Regular System"]

[Excerpts] President Ziaul Haq has expressed the hope that new Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko will fulfill the hopes which the world had pinned on his predecessor Yuriy Andropov. It would be presumptuous to say that with the change in the Soviet leadership that there will be a concomitant change in Soviet policy. Since it is a collective leadership, the coming or going of individuals has no impact. The president said this at the airport while talking to Saudi correspondents who accompanied Prince Talal ibn 'abd al-'Aziz.

The structure of the CPSU, its means and resources, and its complete control over institutions is really in the hands of a dozen or so individuals who make up the Politburo. Whatever decision or choice they make is considered to be the decision and choice of the entire party or nation and no one dares to oppose it or even raise a voice against it. All the means and resources, platform, and press are monopolized by the CPSU. The party toes the line which is formulated by the Politburo and the stamp of an individual leader or ruler is only apparent when a Khrushchev or Stalin has had enough time to make his presence felt in the Politburo.

If we compare conditions at home with those in the Soviet Union, we will see that our performance has been one of "make and break."

We pray to God Almighty that he bestows on our politicians and rulers the capacity to think sincerely on positive bases for a durable and regular system so that the ad hoc situation ends in Pakistan and a correct and lasting system is set up under the aegis of which we can attend to our affairs, set up traditions and institutions, and end this uncertainty.

CSO: 4656/106

HOPE EXPRESSED FOR GREATER FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA

GF131251 Lahore NAWA-I WAQT in Urdu 6 Mar 84 p 3

[Editorial: "PRC President's Visit to China"]

[Excerpts] Mr Li Xiannian, president of the PRC--our great neighbor and our most reliable friend--arrived in Islamabad on a 4-day official visit to Pakistan.

The friendship between the PRC and Pakistan is based on some important and basic considerations which are not influenced by temporary exigencies or changes. The relations between the two countries have a history and a background and the mutual friendship is increasing year by year.

The PRC has always helped us in the hour of need and only Pakistan has the honor of bringing the United States and the PRC closer by paving the way for Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state, to visit China. The PRC set up a heavy machinery complex in Taxila, assisted in the setting up of a thermal power plant at Guddu, and the Karakoram highway is a symbol of the invincible friendly ties between the two countries. In most of the international issues the two countries enjoy unanimity of opinion.

In short, the friendship between the PRC and Pakistan has stood the test of time and will continue to flourish and become stronger in the future.

CSO: 4656/106

OIL FROM NEW FIELD REACHES REFINERY

GF160807 Karachi DAWN in English 12 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 11 March -- A spokesman of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources disclosed here that 1,000 barrels of crude oil was unloaded today at the national refinery Karachi from the newly discovered Leghari Oilfield in Badin, some 177 km from Karachi.

The spokesman said that the second well was completed in December 1983 which after test proved to be a better producer than the first well, where oil was struck in September 1983.

The Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources arranged with the Union Texas Pakistan Inc (UTP), the operator of the field, to undertake the immediate construction of production, storage and loading facilities in Leghari.

These facilities would initially be able to despatch about 1,000 barrels of oil per day. Within about a fortnight the production and the despatch rate is expected to be increased substantially, he added.

Leghari Oilfield is located some 17.5 km east of Khaskeli Oilfields where from 3,000 barrels oil per day is being produced. In terms of quality, Leghari oil is better than that of Khaskeli.

To mark the occasion of the shipment of the newly discovered oil at Leghari, the president, General Mohammad Ziaul Haq granted Rs one lakh per month for 1 year which would be equally shared by district council Badin and town committee Koriogawar Tehsil [subdistrict] Gularchi, district Badin where the Leghari Oilfield is located.

CSO: 4600/426

OIL EXPLORATION: LESS RELIANCE ON FOREIGN CAPITAL STRESSED

GF160836 Karachi DAWN in English 12 Mar 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Oil Exploration"]

[Text] The report that the target of oil and gas exploration for the current year may not be achieved by the end of June is disconcerting and also creates misgivings about the oil exploration programme mapped out for the sixth 5-year plan. A major failing of the exploration scheme in the past has been the failure of the OGDC [Oil and Gas Development Corporation] and private companies to drill an adequate number of wells. It was argued that the oil production could be boosted by drilling more wells than in the past. Given this approach, it is not surprising that the number of exploratory and development wells to be drilled during the sixth plan period has been increased substantially to 250, compared to the 82 wells drilled in the last 5 years. Although well-intentioned, an attempt to attain a sudden three-fold increase may appear to be rather unrealistic, particularly in view of the absence of an adequate infrastructure and capital needed for the purpose.

The government was looking forward to foreign capital for the implementation of its energy programme. This has not been forthcoming. This could be a major reason for the probable failure to meet the target of drilling 48 wells in the very first year of the sixth plan. Since the investment climate in the country has not improved appreciably, the level of foreign private investment has remained very low. The induction of sophisticated equipment and techniques, which could have helped accelerate exploration work in the country, might also prove difficult because they would cost a lot of money and problems will be encountered in obtaining risk-capital or setting up joint ventures in this highly capital intensive field.

It is time to take a fresh look at the national energy programme. A more realistic approach would be to plan oil exploration on a scale that can be managed without any excessive reliance on foreign capital. Over-ambitious planning not only raises false hopes. It also distorts the entire energy programme and priorities. It may be worthwhile, in view of the shortage of trained manpower, machinery and capital and the low output of our wells, to concentrate on areas where deep drilling is not required. This will curtail investments quite considerably, thus making successful wells like the ones at Khashkheli and Leghari economically more feasible. Moreover, greater emphasis must be placed on the more intensive development of the proven oil and gas fields like those at Khokhak and Pirkoh. Modern technology could be effectively used for maximising the output from the existing wells.

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